

CANONS

OF THE

PRIMITIVE CHURCH

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THE CANONS
OF
THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

THE CANONS
OF
THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH:

TOGETHER WITH

THE CREEDS OF NICÆA AND CONSTANTINOPLE, AND
THE DEFINITION OF THE FAITH SET FORTH
AT CHALCEDON:

TRANSLATED FROM ADDITIONAL MSS. 14528 (Br. Mus.),
A SYRIAC MS. OF THE SIXTH CENTURY;
AND FROM OTHER MSS. OF ALMOST EQUAL ANTIQUITY:

WITH A COPIOUS INDEX.

BY THE

REV. G. B. HOWARD,

SOMETIME SCHOLAR OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

"The Holy Synod said, Let the divine Canons of the Fathers be read, and let them be inserted in the minutes. Then Aetius, the Archdeacon and Primicerius of the Great Church, took the book and read:—Canon 83. If any Bishop, after having been deposed, &c."—*Synod of Chalcedon, Action the 4th.*

James Parker and Co.

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P R E F A C E.

THE Colophon of MS. 14528, which forms the basis of this translation, tells us that it was written in the city of Mabug (i.e. Hierapolis, some 20 miles west of the Euphrates, where it makes its great bend to the S.E.), in the year 812 of Alexander, which corresponds to A.D. 500 or 501. It is a very fine MS., written in the square estrangelo character, and must be among the oldest, if it is not the oldest extant MS. of any version, or even text, of these early Canons, being only 50 years later than the Synod of Chalcedon itself.

In some places, where this MS. is defective, the portions lost or omitted have been supplied from other MSS., viz. Add. MSS. 14529 and 14526. Of these, the former is written in the same character, and looks as if it might have been written by the same hand as that which wrote 14528. No. 14526 is written in a smaller and somewhat more cursive character, but I have not discovered anything that fixes the date of either of these two MSS.

In order to reduce the size of this volume, the titles of the Canons, and the names of the

Bishops who voted in and subscribed the several Councils, have been omitted ; together with some other documents, viz. Constantine's summons to Nicæa ; his *Sacra* or Rescript against Arius ; the *Anaphora* of the Fathers at Constantinople, reporting to the Emperor what had been done there ; and a *Sacra* of Theodosius and Valentinian.

The Editions of Labbé and Cossart's Councils referred to are the Paris Edition of 1621, for Vol. I., and Coleti's Venice Edition of 1728, &c., for the other volumes.

Some additional notes, chiefly bearing on a comparison of the Syriac Version with the Greek Text, are added in an Appendix at the end of the volume, and a second Appendix (Appendix B) gives a *résumé* of the action of the Synod of Chalcedon in connection with the 28th Canon of that Synod.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
The Creed of the 318 Bishops at Nicæa	2
The Creed of the 150 Bishops at Constantinople	3
The 20 Canons of the Œcumenical Synod of Nicæa	4
The 24 Canons of the Synod of Ancyra	14
The 14 Canons of the Synod of Neo Cæsarea	23
Synodical Letter of the Bishops at Gangra	26
The 20 Canons of the Synod of Gangra	29
Declaration of the Bishops at Gangra	32
Synodical Letter of the Bishops at Antioch	33
The 25 Canons of the Synod of Antioch	34
The 59 Canons of the Synod of Laodicea	46
The 4 Canons of the Œcumenical Synod of Constantinople	55
The 27 Canons of the Œcumenical Synod of Chalcedon	60
Letter from Constantinople on the reception of heretics	71
The Definition of the Faith at Chalcedon	73
Pope Leo to Anatolius	78
Pope Leo to the Emperor Marcian	86
The Colophon of Add. MSS. 14528	92
Appendix A.	93
Appendix B.	112
General Index.	116

ADD. MSS. 14528. BRIT. MUS.

NOTE.—The first four pp. of this MS., viz. fol. 1 vso, 2, 2 vso, and 3, contain “Questions that were proposed to holy Timothy, the great Patriarch of Alexandria.” They are written in a smaller and somewhat more cursive character than the rest of the volume; and on fol. 3 only the beginnings of the lines remain. The older MS. begins on fol. 3 verso, of which fol. two-thirds have been torn off lengthwise. The few letters, however, that remain are sufficient to enable me to form a conjectural restoration, the translation of which appears in italics.

A BOOK

of the

CANONS

which at *various* times have been composed in the great and holy Synods by the Fathers.

<i>Of Nikia Canons</i>	20
<i>Of Ankyra Canons</i>	24
<i>Of Neokesaria Canons</i>	14
<i>Of Gangra Canons</i>	20
<i>Of Antiochia Canons</i>	25
<i>Of Laodikia Canons</i>	59
<i>Of Kostantinopolis Canons</i>	4
<i>Of Chalkedona Canons</i>	27

NOTE.—Here follow :—

1. The headings of the foregoing Canons, numbered, as in the body of the MS., from 1 to 193 consecutively, their numbers with respect to the Councils to which they belong being placed in the opposite margin : [fol. 3 vso—14].

2. “The Letter of the Emperor Kostantinos summoning the Bishops from Ankyra to Nikia.” [f. 14 vso].

3. “The *Sacra*^a (or Rescript) of Kostantinos against the Arians :” [fol. 14 vso—16].

Then, on fol. 16, we have the Nicene Symbol in the following form :—

^a For the word *Sacra*, see Con. Chal. Act. XI.

THE SYMBOLS OR CREEDS.

THE SYMBOL OF NIKIA.

The Symbol of the Faith that was composed at Nikia, a city of Bithynia, in the Consulship of Paulinus and Julianus, in the year Three hundred and seventy and three of the Computation of the Antiochians which is from Antiochus^b; and in the year (16 vso) Six hundred and thirty and six of the Computation of the Makedonians, which is from Alexandros^c; in the month Khasiran, on the nineteenth of it, and on the thirteenth of the Computation of the Romans, that is called Kalends June July^d. (See Ap.)

I believe in One God, the Father Almighty, the Maker of all things that are seen and that are not seen. And in One Lord Jesus Christ, the^e Son of God, Who was Begotten of the Father, the Only

^b To turn this into the year of our Lord we have $373 + 4664 = 5037$, the year of the Julian Period, in the *Autumn* of which the year 373 of Antiochus commenced. June of this 373rd year, therefore, brings us to the year 5038 of the Julian Period; from which subtracting 4713, we have the year of our Lord 325. See Beveridge, *Inst. Chron.* II. 13, and Evagrius, *Ec. His.* II. 12.

^c This refers to the æra of the Seleucidæ, usually supposed to commence B.C. 311. Hence the date is 636—311, or A.D. 325, as before.

^d Khasiran corresponds to parts of May and June. The 19th of June would be the 13th before the Kalends of July; but the 19th of Khasiran would fall about the 4th of June.

^e Here the words Only Begotten are inserted between the lines in a later hand.

Begotten : that is, of the Substance of the Father : God of God : Light of Light : Very God of Very God : Who was Begotten, and not made : the Son of the Substance of the Father : By Whose hand all things were made that are in Heaven and in Earth : Who for us the Sons of man, (17) and for our salvation, Came down : and was Incarnate : and was made Man : and Suffered : and Rose the Third Day : and Ascended to heaven : and is Coming to Judge the Living and the Dead. And in the Holy Ghost. But as for those who say that there was when He was not ; and, Before He was begotten He was not ; or, He was made of nothing ; or say that He was of another Nature or Substance ; or think the Son of God Mutable or Changeable^f ; these the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematises. (See Ap.)

THE SYMBOL OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

The Symbol of the Faith of the One Hundred and Fifty Bishops who were at Kostantinopolis.

I believe in One God, the Father Almighty, the Maker (17 vso) of Heaven and of Earth, of all things that are seen and that are not seen. And in One Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-Begotten Son of God : Who was Begotten of the Father before all worlds : Very God of Very God : Who was Begotten and not made : The Son of the Substance of the Father : By Whose hand everything was made : Who

^f That is, to use the words of the Patriarch of Alexandria when writing to his namesake of Constantinople, "of an alterable Nature, capable of virtue and of vice."—Labbé and Cossart. Ed. Coleti, II. 12.

for us the Sons of man, and for our Salvation, Came down : and was Incarnate of the Holy Ghost, and of the Virgin Mary : and was Made Man : and was Crucified for us in the days of Pontius Pilate : and Suffered : and was Buried : and Rose the Third Day, as say the Scriptures : and Ascended to Heaven : and Sitteth on the Right Hand of His Father : and (18) is Coming again in Glory to Judge the Living and the Dead : of Whose Kingdom there is no end. And in the Holy Ghost, The Lord : and the Life Giver : Who Proceedeth from the Father : Who with the Father and the Son is worshipped and glorified : Who spake in the Prophets. And in One Church, Holy, Apostolic, and Catholic. And I confess one Baptism for the Remission of Sins. And I hope for the Resurrection of the Dead ; and the Lives of the World to Come. (See Ap.)

[NOTE.—The remainder of this page and the 14 pp. that follow are occupied by the names of the subscribing Bishops at Nikia, to the number of 220, from as many different cities ; “because,” it is said (on fol. 25), “the names of the Western Bishops were not written.” This leaves 98 names wanting.

Then on fol. 25 vso we have the following :—]

The Ecclesiastical Decisions of the Great and Holy Synod of the Three Hundred and Eighteen Bishops which was gathered in Nikia, a city of Bithynia^g, and decided these things that are written below.

1. If a man has suffered amputation by medical 1

^g Nicæa now Isnik, was on the E. shore of the Lake Ascania, about 65 miles S.E. of Constantinople.

men on account of disease, or has been mutilated by barbarians, let him remain among the Clergy. But if a man, being in good health, mutilate himself of his own accord, this man, if he be among the Clergy shall cease from his ministry : and from henceforth let not him that is thus be presented for the Laying on of Hands. (26) And as this is clearly said concerning those who prehend, and of their own will presume to cut off their members, so if there be men who have been mutilated by barbarians or by their masters, but are found otherwise worthy, in respect of their conversation, for the Laying on of Hands for the Priesthood, these the Canon^h receives that they may enter the Clerus. (See Ap.)

2. Forasmuch as many things have been done,² either from necessity or through haste, contrary to the Ecclesiastical Canonⁱ, so that men have come to the Faith fresh from the conversation of the heathen (26 vso), and when they have been Hearers for a little time, have been forthwith brought to the Spiritual Laver, and with their very Baptism have been presented for the Laying on of Hands for the Episcopate or for the Presbyterate : it is decided that henceforth no such thing may be done. For a certain time is requisite for a Hearer, and after his Baptism much probation ; and therefore the blessed Apostle clearly signifies that his discipleship must not be recent, lest, being lifted up, he fall into judgment

^h Probably Can. Apost. 20, Ed. Bruns.

ⁱ Ibid. 79.

and into the snare^k of Satan. If then, as time flows on, soul sin be found in any of those who have heretofore received the Laying on of Hands hurriedly after their Baptism, and he be convicted (27) by two or three witnesses, he must be expelled from the Clerus: and whosoever contrary to these things presumes to act in opposition to this Great Synod shall fall from his Priesthood. (See Ap.)

3. Concerning Inhabitresses the Great Synod altogether decrees it to be unlawful for a woman to live with a Bishop or with a Presbyter or with a Deacon, or with any one who is of the Clergy: except only a Sister or an Aunt, or one of such persons as these that are far from suspicion.

4. (27 vso) It is fitting that he who becomes⁴ a Bishop should, if possible, be constituted by all the Bishops of the Province; but, if this cannot be, either by reason of urgent necessity, or because of the length of the way, it is necessary that by all means three should be assembled, the rest also consenting in opinion and in writing, and that so the Ordination should be made. But the Confirmation of the things that are done shall be granted in every Province to the Metropolitan. (See Ap.)

5. Concerning those, whether of the Clergy or⁵ of the rank of the Laity, who are under Inhibition by the Bishops that are in any one of the Provinces, (28) let this sentiment obtain¹ in accordance with

^k 1 Tim. iii. 6. The Peshito version lacks the words *and into the snare*.

¹ Obtain supplied from MS. 14526.

the Canon^m; that those who are ejected by some shall not be received by others. But let inquiry be made whether they have been inhibited from the assembly of the Church through animosity or through contentiousness, or other like cause on the Bishop's part. And that this cause may receive the examination that is meet, it seems good to us that in every Province its Synod should be assembled twice a year, in order that, all the Bishops of the Province being convened, questions such as these may be examined, and so those who are clearly ascertained to have offended the Bishop (28 vso) may be under inhibition by all the Bishops, until it seem good either to the Bishopⁿ or to the Synod to shew mercy on them. And these Synods shall be held, one before the Fast of the Forty, that, all animosity being removed, the Oblation may be offered in purity to God; the other in the time of Autumn. (See Ap.)

6. Let the primitive customs be binding which⁶ are in Mitsrin and in Libya and in Pentapolis, that the Bishop of Alexandria shall have authority over all these; forasmuch as to him of Rome also this custom appertains. And so also in Antiochia, (29) and in these other Provinces, let Precedency be preserved in the Churches. And let this be well known in every place; that, if any man be made a Bishop against the will or permission of the Metropolitan, the Great Synod has determined that this man shall not be

^m Probably Can. Apost. 12, Ed. Bruns.

ⁿ This agrees with the versions made by Dionysius Exiguus, and by the Isidorian translator.

a Bishop. But if two or three, by reason of their contentiousness, oppose the common choice of all, if it be reasonable and according to the ecclesiastical Canon, let the mind of the many hold good and be established. (See Ap.)

7. Whereas custom and primitive tradition obtain 7 that the Bishop of Urshalem (Jerusalem) should be honoured; (29 vso) while he hath the rank of his honour, let there be preserved also to the Metropolis its own dignity. (See Ap.)

8. With respect to those who have sometimes 8 called themselves Kathari but come to the Apostolic and Catholic Church, it seems good to the Great and Holy Synod that, having received the Laying on of Hands, they should thus remain in the Clerus. But before all things it is necessary that they shall profess in writing that they will assent to, and will conduct themselves by, the laws of the Catholic and Apostolic Church; that is, that they are in communion with those who have been twice married, and with those who denied in the Persecution, whose time is determined and defined (30) as to when they are to be received; and that they adhere in everything to what has been determined in the Catholic and Apostolic Church. Therefore, where they alone are found in cities or in villages with their Bishops, and there are in the city or in the village no other Clergy of the Orthodox, seeing they have received the Laying on of Hands, they shall continue in their dignity. But if any of them come in in a place where there is a Bishop or a Presbyter of the Catholic

Church, it is acknowledged that the Bishop of the Catholic Church retains the authority of his Episcopate, and he who was called Bishop among the Kathari shall retain the honour (30 vso) of a Presbyter. And this unless it shall seem good to the Bishop of the Catholic Church to permit him to have the name of the honour of the Episcopate. But if this please him not, he shall bear in mind for him the place of a Chorepiscopus or of a Presbyter, so that he may be reputed to be in the Clerus; that there may not be two Bishops in the city.

9. If any men have been made Presbyters without examination; or, when their conversations were inquired into, had confessed wherein they had sinned, and after they had confessed, any, misusing the Canons, have laid Hands (31) upon them; such as these the Canon does not receive. For the Catholic Church vindicates what is in all respects irreproachable.

10. Those who have been presented for the Clerus 10 from among those who had previously denied in the Persecution—whether men were aware of it, or whether they had not been inquired into and known by those who presented them—this does not at all prejudice the Ecclesiastical Canon: when they are known they must by all means be expelled from their degrees.

11. With regard to those who denied without com- 11 pulsion or without seizure of their possessions (31 ver.), or without peril or any other affliction—which was done under the Tyranny of Likinius—it seems good to the Synod that, although they are unworthy of

mercy, it should use leniency towards them. All those therefore who fully repent shall, if they are baptized^o, spend Three years below the Hearers, and Seven years with the Penitents^p; then for Two years they shall communicate with the People in the Prayer that is made at the time of the oblation, without drawing near. (See Ap.)

12. Those who were called by grace, and shewed 12 their first zeal, and laid aside their girdles, but have since then (32) returned to their former vomit, insomuch that some of them would give gold, and by means of bribes would arrange to take up again their military service: let these be Penitents^p for Ten years, after they have spent Three years in the rank below the Hearers. But in regard to all these it is fitting that one inquire into the purpose and character of their repentance. And those who by fear, and by tears, and by perseverance, and by good works, demonstrate their conversion in deed and not in appearance, these, when they have completed the time appointed for their being below the Hearers, may fitly communicate in the Prayers of the Oblation: and further it is permitted to the Bishop to use some clemency concerning them. But (32 vso) as to those who receive this with indifference, and think the appearance of their going up to the Church sufficient for their conversion, by all means let them fulfil the whole time appointed. (See Ap.)

^o The Greek has *the Faithful* as the equivalent term.

^p In the Greek these are called *Prostrators*.

13. Concerning those that are departing from the 13 world, let the ancient and canonical law be now also observed, that, if any man be departing from the world, he should not be deprived of that which is necessary that he may receive the Viaticum thereby^r. But if, after it has been decided concerning him that is dying, so that he is vouchsafed the Communion, and receives the Oblation, he again returns to health and continues in life, he must be only with those who communicate in the Prayer (33) of the Oblation. And generally, every one that is departing from the world and asks to partake in the Holy Mysteries—the Bishop, after making inquiry with much examination, shall give him the Oblation. (See Ap.)

14. Concerning those Hearers that are called Cate- 14 chumens who deny, it seems good to the Great and Holy Synod that for Three years they shall be with those who do not come to instruction (who are called Acroataë), and afterwards they shall pray with the Hearers according to their former rank^s. (See Ap.)

15. Forasmuch as many disturbances and con- 15 tentions have taken place, it is agreed that this custom (33 vso), which is contrary to the Canon shall be entirely removed, in whatsoever region it is found; so that neither Bishop nor Presbyter nor Deacon may remove from one city to another. And if any man, after this decree of the Great and Holy

^r Add. MSS. 14526 has “be not deprived of the Divine and necessary Viaticum.” Add. MSS. 14529 agrees with this MS. But there are various readings.

^s The Catechumens were those Hearers who were admitted to special instruction for Baptism.

Synod, shall presume to permit himself to do any deed of this kind, his proceeding shall by all means be rendered vain, for he shall be sent back to the Church where he was Bishop or Presbyter or Deacon.

16. They that, giving themselves over to peril and 16 not putting the fear of God before their eyes, (34) and not recognising the Ecclesiastical Canon, remove from their Churches—whether Presbyters or Deacons or those (whatever they are) who are enrolled in any of the Ranks of the Clerus—these must not by any means be received in another Church: but let all compulsion be brought upon them that they may return to their places; and if they are contumacious and remain, they must be interdicted from the Communion of the Church. And if any man dares to seize a person that belongs to another, and brings him to the Laying on of Hands in his Church, without the consent of the Bishop from whom he removed, this Laying on of Hands shall be annulled. (See Ap.)

17. Whereas many, although they are (34 vso) 17 in one of the Ranks of the Clergy, running after avarice and filthy lucre, forget the Divine Scripture which saith, He gave not his money upon usury, and when they lend exact the hundredths: the Holy Synod deems it right that, if after this decree any man be found taking usury, or contriving the matter by any means, or exacting the half^t, or using any other device for the sake of filthy lucre, he shall

^t See Hor. Sat. I. 3, 87, and Patrol. vol. xiii. col. 287, and Can. 108.

be dismissed from the Clerus, and shall be an alien from his ministry. (See Ap.)

18. It has come to the knowledge of the Great 18 and Holy Synod that in some places and some cities Deacons give the Oblation to Presbyters, (35) a practice which neither Canon nor Custom has delivered—that those who have not authority to offer the Oblation should give the Body of Christ to those who offer. And this again hath been made known, that some Deacons receive the Oblation even before the Bishops. Let all these things therefore be taken away, and let the Deacons keep within their own bounds, knowing that they are the Bishop's ministers, and are below the Presbyters. Let them therefore receive the Oblation in order, after the Presbyters, the Bishop or a Presbyter giving to them. But it is not permitted to Deacons so much as to sit among the Presbyters, for this is contrary (35 vso) to Order and the Canons. And if any man is not willing to obey this that is determined, he must cease from his ministry.

19. With regard to those who have belonged to 19 the heresy of Paul, and afterwards fly for refuge to the Catholic Church, we lay down a rule that they must by all means be baptized again^u. And if any of them have in time past been in the Clerus, if they are found to be without dissoluteness and without blame, let them be baptized afresh and receive the

^u Paul, Bp. of Samosata, taught that the Son of God was not Begotten before all worlds, but was born as an ordinary man, and was afterwards made God. Eusēb. 7, 27 ; Ruf. in Symb.

Laying on of Hands from the Bishop of the Catholic Church. But if (36), when inquiry is made concerning them, they are found unprofitable, let them be ejected from their places. In like manner shall this order be observed with regard to their Deaconesses also, and to all who are in Station^x. And with regard to the Deaconesses we make a memorandum that, because they were in the dress, yet had no Imposition of Hands, they must be reckoned altogether with the daughters of the world. (See Ap.)

20. Whereas there are some who kneel on the 20 First Day of the week, and in the days of Pentecost: in order that everything may be observed with one accord alike in every Province, it seems good to the Holy Synod that we should all stand while we offer the prayers to God. (See Ap.)

THEY ARE COMPLETE.

(36 vso) *Of the Synod that was in Ankyra^y, Canons Twenty and Four.*

These Canons were prior to those which were composed at Nikia, but those which (were made) at Nikia were written first, because of the Authority of the Great and Holy Synod that was in Nikia.

[NOTE.—The remainder of this page (it is 36 vso) and part of fol. 37 are occupied by the names of

^x Greek *in the Clerus*.

^y This Ancyra was in Galatia, about 240 miles from Constantinople.

Thirteen Bishops assembled at Ankyra, and Twenty at Kesaria, i.e. Neo-Kesaria. See Fol. 46].

21. As to those Presbyters who have sacrificed, and have again returned and entered into the contest, not with any pretence but in truth, and not after having first contrived means and practised deception and induced a persuasion that they may be thought to have suffered torments, when those torments were applied in supposition only and in pretence, not in reality—it is agreed that they shall have the honour of their seat, but they shall not be empowered to offer the Oblations (Corbans), or to expound, or in any one way to discharge the Ministry of the Priesthood.

22. (38) Deacons also, who have sacrificed, and have afterwards returned and entered into the contest, shall have their other honour, but they must be made to cease from all Ministry of the Priesthood: from bringing up to the Altar the Bread or the Cup, and from giving the Body and the Blood, and proclaiming the Prayer². But if any of the Bishops

² The Greek here is τῆς τε τοῦ ἄρτον ἢ ποτήριον ἀναφέρειν ἢ κηρύσσειν, the first clause of which Johnson explains as having reference to “the tending of the Holy Mysteries to the Communicants.” Lambert, citing Justin Martyr’s Apol. i. 85, and the Clementine Lit. in the Apost. Const. viii. 13, explains it in the same way. This Syriac version makes it include the bringing up the Bread and the Cup to the Altar as well; in illustration of which Justin Martyr might again be cited, chs. 85 and 87, and the Clementine Lit., “When this is done, let the Deacons bring the gifts to the Bishop at the Altar.” Ap. Cons. viii. 12. The second clause no doubt refers to the *proclamations* made by the Deacon in the course of the Liturgy; e.g. in the Clem. Lit., Ap. Const. viii. 5, ‘Ο διάκ. . . . κηρυττέτω Μή τις, &c. It will be observed that the expressions used in

shall see in them industry or meekness or suavity, and be disposed to grant them something further, or to take something away, it shall be in their power.

23. As to those who, when they had taken to flight, 3 were apprehended, or were betrayed by their domestics, (38 vso) or had their goods otherwise taken from them, and have suffered torments or fallen into prison, crying out that they were Christians, and had their clothing torn off them, and were forced, by the hands of those who compelled them, to take up things appertaining to heathenism, and by compulsion brought any meat near their mouths, all the while confessing that they were Christians; and have always manifested sorrow for the things that befell them, in all behaviour and humility and lowly life: these, as men who have not sinned, shall not be in any wise inhibited from Communion: and if they have been inhibited by any, for the sake of excessive strictness, or from want of knowledge, they must be immediately received, whether they be of the (39) clergy or of the rank of the laity.

Can. 1. with regard to lapsed Presbyters are different from those used in this Canon. The repentant Presbyter is not προσφέρειν ἢ ὁμιλεῖν, not to *offer* or to *preach*, which the Syriac translation well explains. See Bingham (p. 89) on κηρύττειν. I should scarcely think it necessary to dwell at such length on this subject, had I not myself heard Dr. Hatch, Reader in Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, cite this Canon in proof that it was the ordinary function of a *Deacon* "to offer" and "to preach!"—Lecture to the London Junior Clergy Society, Nov. 10, 1887. That Deacons did sometimes (in the West at any rate) take upon themselves "to offer" is shewn by Can. 15 of Arles, and their presumption is attested by Can. 18 of Nicæa; but this does not affect the meaning here.

And this also hath been a subject of inquiry and discussion, whether sons of the world (laymen) who have fallen under compulsion may become clergy. It is therefore determined that these also, as men that have not at all sinned herein, may, if their conversation be found upright and honourable, be brought to the Laying on of Hands for the Priesthood.

24. As for those who have sacrificed through compulsion, and together with these, those also who have eaten before the idols—those who, when they were led away hereunto, went up in festive guise and wore cheerful raiment, and partook (39 vso) without difficulty of the meat that was prepared: it is determined that they shall be below the Hearers for One year, and be Penitents for Three years, and for Two years they shall communicate with the communicants in Prayer without drawing near, and then they shall come to that which is perfect.

But^a those who went up in a garb of woe, and in sorrow, and sat down and ate, wailing and weeping all the time, when they have completed Three years in Penitence, shall be received without the Oblation. But if they sat down only, and did not eat, they shall be Two years in Penitence, and in the Third they shall communicate in the Prayer of the Communicants without (40) the Oblation, and in the Fourth year they shall be brought to that which is perfect. But it shall be in the power of the Bishops, after examining into the kind of their Penitence either to use clemency or to add more time to the Penitence.

^a This is the 5th Canon in the Greek.

But of all of them their previous conversation shall be inquired into, as well as that which is subsequent, and thus clemency shall be measured out to them. (See Ap.)

25. Concerning those who consented merely from 5 threat of tortures or of the seizing of their goods or of banishment from their country, and have sacrificed, and have not hitherto repented and returned, but at this time of the Synod approach (40 vso) and signify an intention of repentance, it is determined that they shall be received below the Hearers until the Great Day (i.e. Easter Day), and after that they shall be Three years in Penitence, and after these they shall for Two years communicate in the Prayers of the Communicants without the Oblation, and then they shall come to that which is perfect; so that they shall fulfil the time of Six years. But if there are any who have been received to Penitence before this Synod, the period of the Six years shall be reckoned for them from that date. But if any peril or expectation of death or (*sic* in MS., a plain mistake for *from*, as in MS. 14529) sickness or from other cause shall happen, . . .

[Here one fol. is missing in our MS. I supply the omission from MS. 14529^b, fol. 46, col. 1, using smaller type.]

they shall be received conditionally. (See Ap.)

^b This MS. is of antiquity scarcely less venerable than that of the MS. which we have taken for our text, having, like it, been written in the sixth century. The Canons are almost word for word identical with those of MS. 14528, and are numbered at their commencement in continuation of those of Nicæa as well as separately in the margin.

26. Concerning those who at heathen festivals have eaten in places set apart for heathens, having brought their own victuals with them, and have eaten them, it is decreed that they shall do Penance for Two years and shall be received. But whether it be meet that they who are received should also presently take the Oblation is conceded to the pleasure of each one of the Bishops, to do this after having examined into their conversation.

27. Those who under compulsion have sacrificed two or three times shall be in Penance for Four years, and for Two years they shall Communicate in Prayer without the Oblation, and the Seventh year they shall be received perfectly.

28. Those who are not only such as have lapsed, but have also risen up and forced others, and have been to them the cause of their apostatising—these shall be Three years in the place below the Hearers, and Six other years in the place of the Penitents, and Another year they shall receive the Communion of Prayer without the Oblation, and when they have completed the time of Ten years, they shall communicate in that which is perfect; when, besides all this, inquiry (MS. 14528. fol. 41) into the conduct of their lives has also been made.

29. All those who are going to become Deacons, if at the time when they are presented for the Laying on of Hands they testify and say that it is fitting that they should marry, because they are unable to persevere as they are; these, even if they marry after they have received the Laying on of Hands, shall remain in the Ministry, because they had received permission in this matter from the Bishop. But if any are silent at the time of the Laying on of Hands, and by this silence undertake to remain as

they are, and afterwards (41 vso) go into wedlock, they must cease from Ministry. (See Ap.)

30. It is determined that Virgins who have been 10 espoused, and have been afterwards ravished by others, shall be restored to those who first espoused them, even though anything happen to them by force.

31. As to those who sacrificed before they were 11 baptized, and were afterwards baptized, it is determined that they may properly come to the order of the Clergy, because they were cleansed by Baptism. (See Ap.)

32. (42.) It is not lawful for Chorepiscopi to make 12 Presbyters or Deacons in the country, no nor even in a city without permission by letters of the Bishop, whatever may be the case, everywhere. (See Ap.)

33. As to those that are in the Clerus, Presbyters 13 and Deacons, and avoid eating flesh, it is determined that they must first eat, and may afterwards keep themselves (from it) if they will. But if they hold it abominable, insomuch as not even to eat vegetables that have been cooked with flesh, and will not obey the Canon, they must cease from their degrees. (See Ap.)

34. (42 vso) Property which belongs to the Church, 14 and which has been sold by the Presbyters when there was no Bishop, must be restored to the Church; but it shall be in the Bishop's judgment whether (the buyers) shall receive back the purchase money or not; for sometimes the Produce of the things that were sold has returned a greater value to those who bought them. (See Ap.)

35. De iis qui cum bestiis concubuerunt vel con- 15
cubant we decree that all those who sinned before
they were twenty years of age must do Penance for
Fifteen years, and shall afterwards (43) communicate
in Prayer, and when they have been Five years in
communion, then they shall be vouchsafed the Obla-
tion also. But their conversation during Penance
shall also be inquired into, and thus they may be
vouchsafed clemency. But if any have continued
to satiety in this sin, let a protracted Penance be
decreed concerning them. But those who have
passed the measure of twenty years, and, having
wives, have fallen into this sin, must do Penance
for Twenty-five years, and shall then be received
to the Communion of Prayer, and when they have
completed Five years in the Communion of Prayer,
they shall be vouchsafed the Oblation. But if any
have sinned when they had (43 vso) wives, and were
past the time of Fifty years, they shall be vouchsafed
the Communion at the end of their lives.

36. Eos qui sese cum bestiis et cum maribus in- 16
quinaverunt et adhuc inquinant, and are objects of
abhorrence, these the Synod orders to pray with
those that are tempted by Demons. (See Ap.)

37. If there are any who have been made Bishops, 17
and are not received in the places to which they
were nominated, and will to invade other places,
using violence, and moving seditions against those
who made (44) them, these must be set aside. But
if they wish to sit as Presbyters where they were
before, let them not be alienated from their honour.

But if they raise disturbance against the Bishops who made them, then shall be taken from them even the honour of the Presbyterate, and they shall be proclaimed.

38. Those who have promised Virginity, and break 18 their promise, shall fulfil the decree that is appointed for those that take two wives. And as to those Virgins who, under pretence of being sisters, dwell with men, we prohibit them (from communion).

39. (44 ver.) If any one who is a man's wife commit 19 adultery, or if any man commit adultery with his neighbour's wife, they shall be vouchsafed the Communion of the Oblation after Seven years according to the gradations decreed above. (See Ap.)

40. Concerning women who play the harlot and 20 kill their children, and those who with aforethought destroy their foetus, the former decree prohibits them even to their departing from the world. And to this decree we consent, but since we find some room for clemency, we decree that they shall fulfil the time of Ten years (45), according to the gradations determined above. (See Ap.)

41. Those who slay wilfully shall be in Penitence 21 all the time of their lives; but with this, that they shall be vouchsafed Perfection at their departure from the world.

42. As to those who happen to become homicides 22 without intending to kill, the former ordinance decrees Seven years for that they have done, according to the gradations that are set down above: but this second (ordinance) decides that they shall fulfil Five years.

43. Those who are Soothsayers (45 vso) and ad-23
here to the customs of heathenism, and those who
bring men into their houses for the purpose of in-
venting incantations or for purgations, shall lie under
the Rule of Five years, according to the gradations
that are determined therein—Three years in Pen-
itence, and Two in Prayer without the Oblation.

44. If any man espouse a damsel, and afterwards 24
violate her sister and she conceive by him, and he
return and take his espoused damsel, and she that
was violated strangle herself, they that are conscious
in the matter are ordered to come to the Communion
of the Oblation after Ten years (46), according to
the gradations that are determined.

*Of the Synod that was in Neo-Kesaria Canons Four-
teen^c.*

These Canons also were after those that were
made in Ankyra, and were settled at Kesaria. But
these too were prior to those that were made at
Nikia.

45. Any Presbyter that takes a wife falls from his 1
degree; but if he commit fornication or adultery,
he shall be utterly cast forth and come to Penance.

46. A woman, if she be for two brothers, shall be 2
cast out (46 vso) until death; but at the time of her
death mercy shall be given her, if she promise that,
if she recovers, she will release herself from the yoke
and come to Penance. But if a man or woman die

^c Neo-Cæsarea was in Pontus, on the river Lycus.

while they are in this yoke, the Penance on the survivor must be hard.

47. What period is determined for those who fall 3 into many yokes (marriages) is known; but the turning of their conversation and their faith may shorten the (47) period.

48. If a man purposes and lusts after a woman 4 that he may sleep with her, and his desire goeth not forth into action, it seems that he has been delivered by the grace of God.

49. As to a Hearer who enters the Church, and 5 stands with the Hearers, and is afterwards seen to sin; if he be of those who kneel, he shall be in the rank of those who do not kneel^d. And if, when he is of these, he sins again, he must be expelled from the Church. (See Ap.)

50. (47 vso) It is meet that a woman with child be 6 baptized when she will; for there is no participation in this to him that is born with her that beareth; for the desire of every man individually is known by the confession.

51. A Presbyter must not eat at the marriage-feast 7 of one that takes two wives: else, when he that has taken two wives asks for Penance, what shall that Presbyter do, who by his eating hath consented to the marriage? (See Ap.)

52. (48) If a man's wife commit adultery, he being 8 a son of the world (a layman); if she be openly con-

^d The Syriac here may serve to amend the Greek, which, says Johnson, *is very singular*. The kneelers were perhaps permitted to kneel for the Blessing before they left the Church.

victed, this man may not come to the Laying on of Hands. And if she commit adultery after he has received the Laying on of Hands, it is right that he should put her away, but if she remains with him he must be ejected from the Clerus.

53. If any Presbyter who, when he hath previously 9 sinned in his body, shall have come to the Laying on of Hands, confess that he sinned before (48 vso) his Presbyterate, he may not offer^e the Oblation; but he shall continue in the rest (of his functions) because of his diligence in other respects. For as to other offences it is said by many that the very Laying on of Hands gives remission. But if he does not confess, and cannot be openly convicted, it is conceded to his power to do as he will. (See Ap.)

54. Thus also a Deacon, if any have fallen by the 10 same sin, shall have only the rank of a Deacon. (See Ap.)

55. A Presbyter shall not receive the Laying on 11 of Hands before he is (49) a son of Thirty years, however worthy he may be, but shall be kept for the time that is fitting. For our Lord was baptized at the age of 30, and then began to teach.

56. If any man be baptized in sickness, he may not 12 come to the Presbyterate, for his Faith is not of free will but of necessity—unless haply by reason of his virtuous life afterwards, or for lack of men. (See Ap.)

57. (49 vso) Country Presbyters shall not have 13 authority to offer the Oblation^f in a Church when the Bishop is present or when City Presbyters are: no nor even to give the Body or the Cup to others.

^e Greek προσφερέτω.

^f Greek προσφέρειν.

But if they are absent, and one of them be called by himself to Prayer, it is lawful for him to give (It). (See Ap.)

But^g Chorepiscopi are after the type of the Seventy, and as it were sons of (our) ministry (i.e. our fellow ministers) because of care for the poor; so that in honour it shall be conceded to them that they may offer.

58. It is right that the Deacons should be seven¹⁴ (50) as the Canon orders, even though the City be very great: but concerning this thou art persuaded from the Book of the Acts.

Of the Synod that was in Gangra^h, Canons Twenty. These Canons were composed after the Synod that was at Nikia.

To our honoured lords the sons of our ministry (i.e. our fellow bishops) that are in Armenia: Eusebius, Alianus, Eugenius, Olympius, Bithynikus, (50 vso) Gregorius, Piltus, Paphus, Eulalius, Hypatius, Basus, Proarasius, Eugenius, Heraklius, Basilius, who were assembled in the holy Synod that was at Gangra, Peace in our Lord. Whereas a holy Synod of Bishops hath been assembled in the Church of Gangra, concerning matters ecclesiastical, inquiry was also made into the doings of those that (51) are of the House of Eustathius, and it was found that many things contrary to law are done by them. (The Synod) therefore has made strict decision and takes pains to make it known to every man, to the end

^g This is Canon 14 in the Greek copies, but in the Nomocanon of Photius it is not disjoined from the 13th.

^h Gangra was in Paphlagonia, between Ancyra and Sinope.

that those things which are wickedly done by them may be taken away and utterly abolished. For behold because they blame marriage, and say that there is not a man of those that are married that hath any hope before God, many married women have fallen through their words, and have separated from their lords, and again also men from their wives; and meanwhile, because they were not able to contain themselves, (51 vso) they have fallen into the sin of adultery, and hence have come to disgrace and wantonness.

Moreover there were found some who teach that men should keep away from the temples of God, and from the holy Churches; and while entertaining thoughts of derision against the Church of God, and against those that assemble therein, they make their own private assemblies after the fashion of a Church, and deliver strange doctrines together with the rest of the other things, against the Church and those who assemble in it: busy about bringing together kinds of strange garments (52) to the abolition of the accustomed order. Moreover they draw to themselves the ecclesiastical Firstfruits, which from the beginning have been given to the Church of God, and they divide them among themselves and those that are gathered with them as being great ones and saints. And bondservants they cause to leave their masters; and, clothing them in strange garments, they make them despise their masters. And they teach women to shew themselves in the garments of men, without the raiment of their custom, and make them

trust that they are justified by this ordinance. And many of them, by being shaven after the fashion (52 vso) of men, under pretence of the fear of God, bring shame upon the sex of women. They fast too on the First day of the week, and despise the sacredness of the Free Day; but the Fasts which are appointed in fair order in the Church they despise, and they eat on them as on the other days. And some of them abstain from eating flesh as if from an abominable thing. And they will not pray in the houses of those who take wives lawfully, and despise the prayers that are made there. And the Oblation that is made in the houses of those that have wives (53) they do not receive: and they hold in contempt those Presbyters that are in the yoke, and do not partake of the Oblation that is offered by them. And they despise the places wherein the holy Martyrs are laid, and blame those who minister therein or assemble thereunto. And they think of the wealthy who do not divest themselves of all their possessions as having no hope with God. With many other like things which cannot be numbered. For they—each one of them—when they have once departed from the Rules of the Church, (53 vso) conduct themselves by private Regulations of their own: and novelties which they invent are considered by them as regulations: and every one of them adds what he desires and appears to him to be good; and while holding the opinion that he hath no ruler, he employs (it) to the slander of the Church and to his own loss. Wherefore the holy Synod which came to Gangra

hath been compelled to condemn them; and hath made determination that they must be out of the Church. But if they repent, and cast from them with anathema all those things that have been evil found and have been enumerated, (54) they shall be received, the Synod having set forth whatsoever it is fitting that they should anathematize when they are received. But if a man be contentious, and will not assent to these things that have once for all been agreed to by all of us, this man shall be anathematized as a heretic, and shall be excommunicated and an alien from the Church of God; the Bishops that are in every place being careful to observe these decrees and Canons with respect to all who are found with them.

59. If any man blame the yoke, and hold in detestation and contempt one that, being (54 vso) a believer and chaste, sleeps with her lord, as if for this cause they (*sic*) cannot enter into the kingdom, him be accursed.

60. Whosoever condemns him that eateth flesh without the blood and not strangled, or idol-sacrificed, in chastity and faith; as if, because he eateth flesh, there is no hope for him, let him be accursed.

61. Whosoever teaches a bondservant that, under pretext of the fear of God, he must despise his lord and leave (55) his service; and not (rather) that he should fulfil the service of his lord with goodwill and in all honour, let him be accursed.

62. Whosoever separates himself from receiving the Oblation from a Presbyter who was in the yoke

before his Priesthood, as if it were not fitting for him to offer or give the Oblation, let him be accursed. (See Ap.)

63. Whosoever teaches that the house of God 5 must be held in contempt, or the assemblies that are held therein, let him be (55 vso) accursed.

64. Whosoever of himself and for himself makes 6 an assembly away from the Church, and, acting presumptuously against the Church, willet to do those things that belong to the Church, when a presbyter is not with him with the Bishop's permission, let him be accursed. (See Ap.)

65. Whosoever willet to bear away from the 7 Church vows or offerings that belong to the Church, or to bestow them without the Bishop's permission (56) or that of him that is entrusted with this administration, and is not willing to do according to their purpose, let him be accursed.

66. Whosoever bestows or takes benefactions or 8 alms (lit. righteousnesses) that are set apart for the poor against the will of the Bishop, or of him that is entrusted with the dispensing of the alms: he that bestows and he that takes shall be accursed.

67. Whosoever preserves virginity (56 vso) and 9 keeps himself holy¹, keeping aloof from the yoke as if from an abomination, and not because of the goodness and holiness of virginity, let him be accursed. (See Ap.)

68. If any man of those who for our Lord's sake 10 are Virgins be lifted up with pride against those

¹ Cf. 1 Cor. vii. 34.

who have been or who are in the yoke, let him be accursed.

69. Whosoever despises those who in faith make 11 refectons, and for the honour . . .

[Here several folios are missing from our MS. I continue from MS. 14526, fol. 21, &c., premising that the Syriac version of this MS. is evidently an independent translation, not a transcript of the other. MS. 14529 omits these Canons.]

of the Lord call a brother, and is unwilling to take part in the invitations, as one who despises that which is done, let him be accursed.

70. Any man who, for the sake of what is accounted 12 religion, uses the garment of a cloak, and, as if he were thereby justified, finds fault with those who are modestly clad in birnouses and use other common and customary garments, shall be accursed.

71. A woman, if for the sake of what is accounted 13 religion she change her clothing and, instead of that which is womanly and customary, use the garment of men, shall be accursed.

72. Any woman who leaves her lord, and desires to 14 remain apart from him, as holding the yoke to be an abomination, shall be accursed.

73. If any man desert his children, and do not rear 15 them, and as far as in him lieth bring them to the fear of God which is meet, but under pretence of religion neglect them, let him be accursed.

74. If there be any children who desert their parents, 16 under pretence of the fear of God, and especially if they are believers, and do not divide to them the honour that is due to parents, and notably when the fear of God

is regarded with primary honour by them, let them be accursed.

75. A woman who, for the sake of that which is ac-¹⁷ counted the fear of God, shaves off her hair, which is given her for a remembrance of subjection, shall be accursed, as one that rejects the ordinance of subjection.

76. If a man, for the sake of religion so accounted,¹⁸ fasts on the First day of the week^k, he shall be accursed.

77. If any one of those who are religious is vain-¹⁹ glorious and, except from bodily necessity, shall relax the Fasts that have been appointed in common and are observed by the Church, from thought of the reputation for Perfection that dwells in him, he shall be accursed. (See Ap.)

78. If any one, using thought of pride, blame or de-²⁰ spise the Assemblies of the Martyrs, or the Ministrations that are among them, or their Oblations, he shall be accursed. (See Ap.)

Now we write these things, not as subverting those who in the Church of God desire to practise devotion according to the tradition of the Scriptures; but on account of those who take up works of devotion for vain-glory, in opposition to such as live simply, and who in their insolence bring in novelties contrary to the Holy Scriptures and to the Ecclesiastical Canons.

We, for our part, admire Virginitv with meekness; yea, we praise Continence which is with modesty and the fear of God; and we receive the keeping aloof from worldly affairs with humbleness of mind; and we honour

^k The title of this Canon has, *as if it were not different from the rest of the days.*

the pure estate of marriage (lit. yoke) ; and we do not despise riches with justice and righteousness (or alms) ; and we commend unadorned and simple raiment, which is for the sake of necessity, only without anxious care for the body ; but we do not receive lax and wanton extravagancies in dress.

Moreover we honour the Houses of God, and we recognise the prayers that are in them as holy and profitable ; not as if we confined the fear of God to houses, but as honouring above all places that which has been built in the name of God. And the common assembly that is in the Church we recognise as being for the common good : and we give our blessing to the plentiful alms (lit. righteousnesses) of the brethren, which according to the tradition are made for the poor by the Church ; and, to gather up in a word, we pray that those things may be done in the Church which have been handed down by the Divine Scriptures and by the Apostolic Traditions.

The Synod that was assembled at Gangra is finished.

Of the Synod that was assembled at the Dedication of the Church of Antiochia Canons Twenty and Five¹.

The Holy and Peaceful Synod which was assembled under God, to those who in every Province are like-minded and holy in the Lord, Greeting.

¹ This Council was convened by the Eusebian party, ostensibly for the Dedication of the *Golden Church*, which had just been completed; but with the further purpose of taking action against Athanasius, whom it deposed. Its Canons were accordingly rejected by Pope Innocent I., and by St. Chrysostom. On the other hand they are included in the Code accepted at the Council of Chalcedon as of authority (in the 4th and 11th Actions), and are approved by Popes Zachary and Nicholas. See Sozomen III. 5, and Labbé II. 583, &c.

The Truth and Grace of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, having visited the holy Church of Antiochia, and having thus joined us all together with concord and unanimity and the spirit of peace, hath ordered many other things, and with them all ordereth this also by the assistance of the Holy and peaceful Spirit. For we bring to your knowledge those things which, after much thought and discussion and examination on the part of all the Bishops, who were gathered together from various Provinces in the city of Antiochia, seemed to be good and fair: trusting to the Grace of our Lord and the Peace of the Holy Spirit that ye also agree, as being in power with us, and as assisting in prayers; and especially that, united and joined together in the Holy Spirit, ye will think and determine the same things with us, and in the peace of the Holy Ghost will determine and confirm those things which to us have seemed right. Now the ecclesiastical Canons which have been determined are these which are written below.

[Then follow the 25 Canons. We return, however, to MS. 14528, which contains the Canons, preceded by the concluding portion of the names of the Bishops on fol. 57, 57 vso, from which we continue.]

79. All those who presume to reject the decision ¹ of the great and holy Synod that was in Nikia, in the presence of the gracious and Godfearing Emperor Costantinos, (58) about the holy and life-giving Feast of the Pascha^m shall be accursed and

^m That this word signifies the Feast of the *Resurrection* (our Easter Day), and not, as some have asserted, the commemoration of the Day of the *Crucifixion*, is plain from Eusebius V. 23, especially as illustrated by the arguments in Bede, E. H. III. 230, 231, and V. 428, &c.

aliens from the Church, if, whosoever they are, they continue to oppose themselves to that which was well determined in that assembly. And this is said concerning the laity (lit. worldly); but if any of those who conduct Churches, Bishops, or Presbyters, or Deacons, presume, to the subversion of the people and the perturbation of the Churches, to make a schism and to keep the Pascha with the Jews, (58 vso) the Holy Synod makes this man forthwith an alien from the Church of God, as not only being an occasion of sin to himself, but also as subverting and destroying many. Moreover the Holy Synod alienates from their ministry not these alone, but those also who presume to communicate with them after their ejection. And those that are cast out shall be deprived also of the external honour that is given to the holy Canon and to the Priesthood of God. (See Ap.)

80. (59) All who go to the Church of God and hear ² the Holy Scriptures, but do not communicate in the Prayer with the people, and in their disorderliness turn their faces from the reception of the Holy Mysteries, shall be ejected from the Church until they make confession and shew fruits of repentance; but when they intreat they shall receive pardon. Moreover, no one shall be permitted to communicate with excommunicated persons, nor to make an assembly in houses and pray with those who do not pray with the Church, (59 vso) nor to receive in his Church those who do not assemble in another Church. And if there be found any of the Bishops or of the Presbyters or of the Deacons or of any one of the Orders

that are in the Church communicating with the excommunicated persons, he shall be bound and an alien, as one who throws the Church's order into confusion. (See Ap.)

81. If any Presbyter or Deacon, or any that is 3 of the Clergy, leave his place and (60) go to another place, and afterwards keep altogether away from his post, and dwell in another place for a long time, he must no longer serve in the Ministry; more especially if, when his Bishop calls him and advises him to return to his post, he will not listen. But if he still persist in this disorderly behaviour, he must be completely rejected from his ministry, and shall not again have a place where he may be received in his position. And if, after his deposition for this reason, another Bishop receive him, that Bishop shall receive a reproof (60 vso) from the Common Synod as one that hath transgressed the laws ecclesiastical.

82. If any Bishop, after having been ejected by 4 a Synod, or any Presbyter or Deacon by their Bishop, shall presume—any one of them—to perform any act of ministry, whether Bishop or Presbyter or Deacon, according to their former custom, they shall have no hope of being received by another Synod, (61) and shall find no opportunity for making a defence. Moreover, all who communicate with them shall be cast out from the Church; especially if, after they have learned the sentence that hath gone forth against them, they dare to communicate with them.

83. If any Presbyter or Deacon, despising his 5 Bishop, separate himself from the Church and (61 vso)

gather a congregation, and set up an altar in another place, and when the Bishop calls him pay no heed, and will not obey him when summoned a first and a second time: this man shall be utterly ejected from his degree, and thenceforth he shall have no healing, so as to receive his former honour. And if he continue thus disturbing and agitating the Church, he shall be prosecuted by the external authority as a seditious man^a.

84. If any man be under inhibition by his Bishop, 6 (62) let him not be received by another, unless he have been first received by his Bishop, or unless, when the Synod is assembled, he comes and makes his defence, and, having persuaded it, shall have received another sentence. And this decree shall be observed concerning sons of the world, and concerning Presbyters, and concerning Deacons, and concerning all that are of the Clergy.

85. Let no stranger be received without Letters 7 of Peace.

86. (62 vso) Presbyters who are in the Country 8 may not give Canonical Letters; but only Bishops to their neighbours. Chorepiscopi who are free from accusation may make Letters of Peace. (See Ap.)

87. It is meet that the Bishops of every Province 9 should recognise that the Bishop who is in the Metropolis is the Head of all, and holds the charge of all the Province, since those who have business are

^a These two Canons, 82 and 83, were cited in the 4th Action of the Council of Chalcedon as Canons 83 and 84 of the Code, Can. 57 being there divided into two. See Labbé IV. 1417, 1429.

gathered from every place to the Metropolis^o. (63) Wherefore it is agreed that he is the first in honour, and the rest of the other Bishops that are in the Province shall do nothing special without him, according to the ancient Canon of the Fathers that prevails, but only those things that are due to the authority of each one of them and to his district. For every one of them shall be empowered to govern his place in the piety which is becoming to him, and to have charge of all the district that is under the authority of his city: making Presbyters and Deacons (63 vso) and examining into any matter. But beyond these things he shall not act, or presume to do anything without the Metropolitan Bishop: nor may even the Metropolitan himself without the consent of the rest. (See Ap.)

88. As to those who in Villages and Districts are ¹⁰ called Chorepiscopi, it seems good to the Holy Synod that although they have received the Laying on of Hands of Bishops^p, they should know their measure, and govern the Churches that are under their authority. And (64) the charge and government of these is sufficient for them, while they make Subdeacons and Readers and Exorcists only. But they must not presume to make Presbyters or Deacons without the Bishop of the City to which they and their districts are subject. But if any one presume to transgress these things that are determined he

^o This illustrates the famous passage in Irenæus, iii. 3. 2.

^p The plural seems to imply consecration *to the Episcopate*. Cf. Can. 2, 95, 168.

shall be ejected from this honour that he hath. And a Chorepiscopus shall be made by the Bishop of that city to which he is subject. (See Ap.)

89. A Bishop or a Presbyter (64 vso) or any one ¹¹ that is of the Order of the Clergy, who, without the consent and letters of the Bishops of the Province, and especially of the Metropolitan, goes to the Emperor—this man shall be proclaimed, and shall be ejected, not only from communion, but also from the honour which he hath, as one that presumes to vex and weary out the hearing of the Emperor beloved of God, contrary to the law and custom of the Church. But if the business that presses on him urge him to go to the Emperor, he must do it with the consideration and advice of the Metropolitan Bishop, and of those of (65) the rest of the Province, and shall be provided for his journey by their Letters. (See Ap.)

90. If any Presbyter or Deacon, when he hath ¹² been ejected by his Bishop, or a Bishop by his Synod, presume, any one of them, to vex the hearing of the Emperor, it were meet that he should wait and set forth his matter before the Great Synod, and bring whatever he thinks he has that is equitable before many Bishops, and receive examination and judgment (65 vso) from them. He that despises this, and wearies the Emperor's hearing, shall not be vouchsafed to effect forgiveness, nor shall he have any opportunity of apology, nor may he hope to be restored again to his place.

91. No Bishop may presume to go from his own ¹³

Province to another, and to bring men to the Laying on of Hands in other Churches for any one of the Orders of the Clerus: not even if there be with him . . .

[Here a Syriac note says, *One is gone from here.* We continue from Add. MSS. 15429 fol. 52 vso :—]

other Bishops, unless he be called to go by the request and letters of the Metropolitan and of the Bishops that are with him ; and thus he may proceed to the Cheirotomy. But if, when no one invites him, he shall disorderly perform the Laying on of Hands on any, and shall disturb the order of ecclesiastical matters that do not belong to him, all that is done by him shall be invalid, and he shall receive the judgment that is due to his disorderliness and audacity, being straightway ejected by this Holy Synod. . (See Ap.)

92. If when a Bishop is judged concerning certain¹⁴ charges, there happen to be disagreement between the Bishops of the Province about him, some of them shewing him that is judged to be innocent, and some guilty : for the solution and cessation of this their contention, it seems good to the Synod of Bishops that the Metropolitan shall summon other Bishops from the neighbouring Province, who shall investigate and resolve

[Here we return to our MS., fol. 66.]

the contention, by confirming, together with the Bishops of the Province, whatever seems good to them.

93. If, when any of the Bishops is charged with¹⁵ crime, he is judged by all the Bishops of the Province, and all unanimously pronounce one sentence

upon him, this man shall not afterwards be in any wise judged by others; but the sentence (66 vso) which hath gone forth against him with the agreement of all the Bishops of the Province shall remain firm and unshaken.

94. If any Bishop who is without a Place throw him-¹⁶self upon a Church that is vacant, or without a Full Synod seize upon a Throne that belongs to another Bishop, this man shall be ejected, although all the people of whom he hath taken possession are pleased with him. And a Full Synod is that in which the Metropolitan is found.

95. (67) If any man receive the Laying on of¹⁷ Hands for the Episcopate, and be set apart to stand at the head of the people, but will not receive this Ministry, and will not obediently go to the Church that is assigned to him: this man shall be under inhibition until he is compelled to acquiesce, or until a Full Synod of the Bishops of the Province pronounce some decree about him. (See Ap.)

96. If any Bishop (67 vso) receive the Laying on¹⁸ of Hands, and does not go to the place whereunto he has been set apart, not through his own fault, but either because of the request of the people, or for some other reason that doth not proceed from himself, this man shall have the honour of the Episcopate and of the Ministry only, while he does not trouble or in any way harass the affairs of the Church where-with he is assembled; and he shall accept whatever decision is made about him by the Synod of the Province. (See Ap.)

97. (68) No one who is coming to the Episcopate 19 may receive the Laying on of Hands without the Synod and the presence of the Metropolitan of the Province. And though he must by all means be present, it is good that there be found with him all the sons of his Ministry that are in the Province, whom it is right that the Metropolitan should summon to him by letters: and if all come together it is well; but if this be difficult, it is proper that most of them be found, or else by means of (68 vso) their letters they shall be consenting. And thus, in the presence of many of them, or with consent of their letters, the Laying on of Hands of the Bishop shall be performed. And if it be done otherwise, against anything that hath been determined, the Laying on of Hands shall not be confirmed. But if the Laying on of Hands shall have been according to the Canon that hath been determined, but some of them oppose through their contentiousness, the opinion of the majority shall stand and prevail. (See Ap.)

98. (69) For the business of the Churches and 20 for the settlement of disputes it seems good that in every Province a synod of its Bishops shall be convened twice a year: the First time after the third week of the Feast of the Unleavened, and the Synod will be held in the fourth week of Pentecost¹, the Metropolitan having reminded by letters those that are in the Province: and the Second time on the

¹ The period from Easter to Whitsunday went by this name.
—See Zonaras on Ap. Can. 37.

fifteenth of the First Tishri^r; so that in these two Synods (69 vso) Presbyters and Deacons, and all who think that they are wronged, may come forward and receive from the Synods the deliverance of their matters. But none shall be empowered to hold a Synod without those who are entrusted by the Metropolitan. (See Ap.)

99. A Bishop may not remove from his first place 21 to another: neither removing himself of his own will, nor being forcibly removed by the people, nor (70) being compelled by Bishops. But he must remain in that Church which was from the beginning committed to him by God: and he shall not by any means depart therefrom, according to the decree which has been laid down upon this matter from the beginning.

100. A Bishop may not go to a strange city that 22 is not subject to him, nor to a district that is not under his hand, to Lay Hands on a man; (70 vso) and he may not make Presbyters or Deacons for places subject to another Bishop, unless by permission of the Bishop of the district. And if any man presume to do contrary to these things, the Laying on of Hands that is done by him shall be null, and he shall receive reproof from the Synod.

101. A Bishop has no power to make another 23 Bishop after him in his stead, not even at the time of his departure from (71) the world. And if any

^r i.e. October. This was the First Month of the New Year among the Chaldees and Syrians: whence its name, as *beginning* the year.

such thing be done, the Laying on of Hands shall be null: and the Ecclesiastical Canon shall be observed, that holds good, and that ordains that it shall not be done otherwise than by a Synod, and with examination by those Bishops who are empowered, after the departure of him that is dying, to present for the Laying on of Hands such an one as is worthy.

102. It is meet that those things that appertain ²⁴ to the Church be kept for the Church with all care and good conscience (71 vso) and faithfulness before God the Beholder and Judge of all; and it is right that they should be administered with the examination and by the authority of the Bishop, who is entrusted with all the people, and with the souls of those who are assembled in the Church. Let it be known moreover what are the goods of the Church, and let nothing be hidden from them; so that, if it shall happen that the Bishop departs from the world, the goods of the Church may be known, so that nothing may fall from them or be lost: and those that are known to be the Bishop's may not be lessened . . . (See Ap.)

[Here again a fol. is lost, which I supply from Add. MSS. 14529, fol. 55 :—]

under pretence that they are the property of the Church. For this is just and right before God and before men, that those things which are the Bishop's he may leave to whomsoever he pleases; that what belongs to the Church may be preserved for it, and there may be no loss to the Church, and the Bishop be not despoiled under pretext of Church property, when those things which belong to

him whose they are fall into diminution, with this further (consequence), that he is evil spoken of after his death.

103. The Bishop shall have authority over all the pos-²⁵ sessions of the Church, so that he may distribute to those that are in want, with discretion and in the fear of God; while he supplies also his own needs from them, and receives brethren that are strangers who come to him, so that nothing may be wanting to them by any means, according to the word of the divine Apostle who saith that if we have food and raiment, these are sufficient for us. But if these things do not suffice him, and he divert

[Here we return to our MS., fol. 72.]

the possessions of the Church to the wants of his own household, and does not administer the income of the Church and the yield of its farms with the consent of the Presbyters and of the Deacons, but uses his power over them (i.e. over the Church goods) for the sons of his household, or for the sons of his family, or for his brothers, or for his children; so that by their hands there may secretly be a loss to these others that are in the Church; this man shall be punished for these things before the Synod of the Province. And if in other respects the Bishop, or the Presbyters that are with him, be spoken against, as turning to themselves property that belongs to the Church, whether (72 vso) from the farms, or from other ecclesiastical incomings, so that the poor are oppressed thereby, and accusations and reproaches go about respecting the sustenance^s and the administrators; these matters too shall re-

^s The word occurs in Acts xii. 20.

ceive correction by the investigation of the Holy Synod of the Province. (See Ap.)

THEY ARE COMPLETE.

[MEM.—The names of subscribing Bishops occupy the remainder of this page and the next.]

Of the Synod of Ladikia of Phrygia, Canons Fifty and Nine.

104. (73 vso) With indulgence and with pity we¹ decide that it is right, according to the Ecclesiastical Canon, that those who have been freely and lawfully joined in two marriages, and have not effected a secret marriage, (74) should have the Communion of the Oblation granted to them, after they have persevered for a short time in prayers and fasting.

105. In regard to those who have sinned in various² crimes, and have persevered in the prayer of confession and of penitence and perfect turning away from the evils that they have done; when there has been given to them a time of penance according to the measure of their crimes, because of the love and grace (74 vso) of God they shall be brought to Communion.

106. Of this, that it is not right that those who³ have been recently baptized should be immediately brought to the order of the Clerus. (See Ap.)

107. Of this, that it is not right that Cheirotonies⁴

should be made in the presence of those Hearers who are called Akroataë^t.

108. Of this, that it is not right that those who 5 have the Priesthood, (75) when they lend, should receive usury, or that which is called the half more^u.

109. That it is not fit that Heretics should be 6 permitted to enter the Temple of God while they continue in their evil doctrine.

110. Of this, that those who are from Heresy, 7 that is of the Novatians or of the Photinians or of the Quartodecimans, (75 vso) and turn to the Church, whether from the Hearers or from the Baptized, must not be received until they have first anathematized all these heresies separately, and notably those wherein they were held; and then those who are called among them the Baptized, after they have learned the Creed (lit. the Symbol of the Faith), and have been anointed with the Holy Chrism, shall be admitted to partake of the Divine Mysteries^x. (See Ap.)

111. Those who are from the heresy of those who 8 are called Phrygians^y, and turn to the holy (76)

^t See Can. 14. Balsamon and Zonaras understand Cheirotomies to signify *elections* in this place. The word usually signifies the act of Ordination.

^u See Can. 17. The half more probably applies to seed only.

^x Some doubt exists as to the genuineness of the words *or of the Photinians*. Their heresy, a revival of that of Paul of Samosata, was so subversive of the Doctrine of the Incarnation, that it is scarcely credible that their Baptism should be recognised as valid. See the Note of Binius ad locum, and Can. 16 of the 2nd Council of Arles; and compare Can. 19 of Nicæa, and Can. 163.

^y These self-opinionated madmen were bitterly opposed to the Catholics, asserting that they and they only had the Spirit, &c.

Church, even though they are in the Clerus which is so reckoned among them, or are considered magnates;—these must be instructed with all care and attention, and be baptized afresh by the Bishop or by the Priests of the Church. (See Ap.)

112. Of this, that it is not permitted to the sons 9 of the Church to go to the Cemeteries or to the places that are called Martyries of the Heretics for Prayer or Healing. And as to those (76 vso) who do this, those who are faithful (i.e. communicants) shall be under inhibition for a certain period, and when they repent and confess that they have been in fault, they shall be received.

113. That it is not meet for the sons of the Church 10 to marry their sons indifferently and without distinction to Heretics.

114. That it is not right that those who are called 11 Presbyteresses, and sit in front in the Church², should receive Laying on of Hands.

115. (77.) Of this, that those who are chosen for 12 the Episcopate with the approbation of the Metropolitan and of the Bishops of the Province, shall receive Cheirotony and be entrusted with the government of Churches—being such as have for a long time been approved in the word of the Faith and in the right teaching of conversation. (See Ap.)

116. That it is not fitting that the people be per- 13 mitted to make choice of those who are about to come to the Priesthood.

117. (77 vso) Of this, that the Holy Things must 14

² Cf. Apost. Constit. II., chap. 57.

not be sent to other places at the Feast of the Unleavened, by way of Eulogies.

118. That it is not meet that, besides the sons 15 of the station who canonically go up to the place of the Readers and sing from the Books, others, whoever they may be, should sing in the Church.

119. That it is meet that the Gospel be read (78) 16 together with the rest of the other Scriptures on the Sabbath.

120. That for the future on the Assemblies and 17 Vigils, there shall not be Psalm after Psalm, but that between all Graduals (or Canticles) there shall be a reading of Scripture. (See Ap.)

121. Of this, that it is meet that the same service 18 be used continually at the ninth hour and in the evening.

122. (78 vso) That it is meet that, after the 19 Bishop's homily, the Deacon should first say, apart from the rest, the Prayer of the Hearers; and after the Hearers have gone, there should be the Prayer of those who are in Penance; and after these have received the Laying on of the Hand and have departed, then should be said Three Prayers of the Faithful: One first in silence, and the Second and the Third in a loud voice. And then the Peace shall be given, and after the Presbyters have given the Peace (79) to the Bishop, then the laity also shall give the Peace to one another; and so the Holy Oblation shall be offered. And only those who are in the Clerus may receive the Oblation from (or at) the Altar. (See Ap.)

123. That it is not right for a Deacon to sit in 20 the presence of a Presbyter, unless at the Presbyter's bidding. Deacons too shall have the like honour from Subdeacons (79 vso) and the rest of the Clergy.

124. That it is not right that Subdeacons should 21 have a place in the Diaconicon, or touch the Domical vessels. (See Ap.)

125. That it is not right for Subdeacons to wear 22 Orarions at the time of their Ministry: nor should they leave and be away from the Doors.

126. (80) That it is not right that Readers or 23 Singers should read or sing wearing Orarions.

127. That it is not meet that those who are in the 24 Priesthood, Presbyters and Deacons, and the rest of the Ecclesiastical Orders, Subdeacons, and Readers, and Singers, and Exorcists, and Door-keepers, or any of the order of Monks, should enter a tavern. (See Ap.)

128. (80 vso) That it is not right for a Subdeacon 25 to bless or to give the Bread or the Cup. (See Ap.)

129. That it is not meet that Exorcists who were 26 not appointed by the Bishop should exorcise either in a Church or in a house.

130. Of this, that it is not right for Priests, or 27 Clerks, or the laity, when invited to Refections^a, to take portions away, because (81) reproach is thereby brought on the Ecclesiastical order.

131. That it is not right that those Feasts that 28 are called Refections^a should be held in the Tem-

^a In the Greek *Agapæ* or *Love Feasts*. Comp. Can. 69.

ples of God or in Churches, and that in the Temples men should spread couches and feed.

132. That it is not right for Christians to conduct 29 themselves like Jews and to cease from their work on the Sabbaths; but they must work on that day, and if they can cease (from work), they must honour the First Day of the Week as (81 vso) is meet for Christians. But if any are found adhering to Judaism, they shall be accursed from Christ. (See Ap.)

133. That it is not right for Priests or for Clerks, 30 or for those of any kind of ascetics, to bathe with women at the baths:—no, nor for any secular Christian; for this is a principal turpitude of the heathen.

134. (82) That it is not right to make alliance by 31 marriage with Heretics, or that a man should give his sons or daughters to them, but he should rather take from them such as previously profess that they are Christians.

135. That it is not right that a man should receive 32 Benedictions from Heretics—which indeed are not Benedictions but Maledictions.

136. That it is not right that one should pray with 33 Heretics, or with (82 vso) Schismatics.

137. That it is not right for any Christian to leave 34 the true Martyrs of Christ and go to the false Martyrs who were from Heretics and were Heretics when they testified. For they are aliens from God, and those who go to them shall be accursed. (See Ap.)

138. That it is not lawful for Christians to leave 35 (83) the Church of God, and to name the names of Angels, and to build temples and make assem-

blies, which is altogether abominable. Whoever, therefore, is found to use this secret worship of idols shall be accursed, for he leaveth our Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, and draweth near to the service of Idols.

139. That it is not meet that Priests or Clerks 36 should become Mages or Wizards, or make those things that are called Amulets (83 vso) which are bonds of souls. And as for those who make or hang such things, we command that they be thrust out of the Church. (See Ap.)

140. That it is not meet to receive portions of 37 a Feast from Jews or Heretics, or to feast with them in their feasts.

141. That it is not meet to receive Unleavened 38 Bread from Jews or to partake in their impiety.

142. (84) That it is not right to make Festival 39 with the Heathen, and to partake in their service, which is without God.

143. That it is not meet that Bishops who are 40 summoned to a Synod should pay no regard thereto, but they should go, to teach or to learn those things that are for the regulation of the Church and of other matters. But if a man pay no regard, and (84 vso) do not go, he accuses himself—that is, whosoever is not hindered by sickness.

144. That it is not right for Priests or for Clerks 41 to make a journey without Canonical Letters.

145. That it is not meet for Priests or for Clerks 42 to make a journey without the Bishop's permission.

146. That it is not meet that Subdeacons should 43

even for a little space (85) leave the Doors and continue in Prayer.

147. That it is not meet that women should approach and go up to the Altar. 44

148. That it is not right that a man should receive Baptism after the second week of the Fast of the Forty^b. (See Ap.) 45

149. That it is right that those who come for Baptism should learn the Creed, and should repeat it on the Fifth Day of the week, before (85 vso) the Bishop, or before the Presbyters. 46

150. Of this, that it is right for those who have received Baptism in sickness, when they are convalescent, to learn the Creed, and acknowledge that they have been vouchsafed such a gift. (See Ap.) 47

151. That it is meet for those who have been baptized, that after Baptism, they should be anointed with the heavenly Chrism, and be partakers of the kingdom of Christ. 48

152. (86) That it is not right that the Oblation be offered in the Fast of the Forty, except on the Sabbath, and on the First Day of the Week. 49

153. That it is not right that the Fast of the Forty should be broken on the Fifth of the Week in the Great Week, and the whole Fast dishonoured thereby, but it is meet that we fast the whole Fast of the Forty, eating dry bread only. 50

154. That it is not meet that in the Fast of the Forty the Birthdays of the Martyrs be observed, (86 vso) 51

^b The Greek has, *should be received for illumination (baptism)*.

but only a Festival of Martyrs should be kept either on the Sabbath or on the First Day of the Week. (See Ap.)

155. That it is not right that in the Fast, Marriage 52 or Birthday Feasts should be held.

156. That it is not right for Christians, even if 53 they are laity, to engage in a ballet, or to dance when they go to a Wedding, but they must behave modestly there, whether they dine or sup, as is comely (87) for Christians. (See Ap.)

157. That it is not lawful for Priests or for Clerks 54 to look on at ludicrous shows at Weddings or at Suppers; but before the Mimers and Dancers enter, they should rise and depart thence.

158. That it is not right for Priests or for Clerks 55 to make symposiums by contribution: no nor even for laity.

159. (87 vso) That it is not right for Presbyters 56 to go in and sit in the Bema before the Bishop's entrance, but they should go with the Bishop, unless haply the Bishop is travelling or sick.

160. That it is not right that in villages and 57 country places Bishops should be appointed, but Periodutæ (Circuitmen). If, however, they happen to have been appointed previously, they must do nothing without the permission (88) of the Bishop of the City. Thus, too, the Presbyters must do nothing without the Bishop's consent.

161. That it is not right that the Oblation should 58 be offered in houses, either by Bishops or by Presbyters.

162. That it is not meet that anybody's private 59
hymns should be said in the Church; nor those
Books which are not Canonical, but only those
that are set in the Canon of the Testament New
and Old. (See Ap.)

(88 vso) *Of the Synod that was in Kostantinopolis
Canons Four. In the ninth year of the Procon-
sulate of Euchar and of Hevagrius, in the month
Ab, of the Four hundred and twenty and ninth year
of the reckoning of the Antiochians. (See Ap.)*

*The Bishops, who by the grace of God were assem-
bled at Kostantinopolis, from various Provinces, at
the summons of the God-loving Theodosius, deter-
mined these things.*

*These Decrees were laid down by One hundred
and fifty Bishops who were assembled (89) in Kostan-
tinopolis at the Cheirotomy of Nectarius the Bishop.*

163. There shall not be set aside the Creed nor 1
the Canons of the Three hundred and eighteen
Fathers who were assembled in the City Nikia of
Bithynia; but it shall remain firm and undissolved.
And every heresy shall be accursed, and notably that
of the Eunomians, that is the Nothingians; and
of the Arians, that is (89 vso) the Eudoxians; and
of the Semi-Arians, that is the Contenders with the
Spirit; of the Sabelians; and of the Markelians; of
the Photinians; and of the Apolinarians. (See Ap.)

164. Bishops or Archbishops must not pass to 2
Churches beyond their bounds in order to administra-
tion, nor disturb and throw Churches into confusion :

but according to the intent of the Canons (90) the Bishop of Alexandria shall govern those that are in Mizrin; and the Bishops of the East those of the East only, the seniority which is given by the Canons of Nikia to the Church of Antiochia being preserved: and the Bishops of the administration of Asia those that are in Asia; and of Pontica those that are in Pontus only; and those of Thraka those of Thraka. And Bishops that are not invited must not pass beyond their bounds to make Ordinations (Cheirotonies), or for the disposition of other ecclesiastical matters. (90 vso) This Canon being observed concerning the administrations of Districts and of the City, it is recognised that in every Province the Synod of the Province shall make arrangements according to those things that were determined at Nikia. And the Churches of God that are in the territories of barbarous peoples ought to be governed according to the primitive custom which hath held good from the Fathers. And the Bishop of Kostantinopolis hath the seniority after him of Rome, because this is also New Rome^c. (See Ap.)

165. As to Maximus (91) the Cynic, and the³ disorder that hath been occasioned by him in Kostantinopolis, we pronounce that Maximus neither was made nor is a Bishop; and that those who have received from him Laying on of Hands in any degree of the Clergy are not Clergy; for all those things which have been done in connection with him and by him are null. As to those two Tomes

^c The last sentence forms Canon 3 in the Greek copies.

of the Westerns or of the Antiochians, we receive those that confess One Godhead of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost^d. (See Ap.)

166. (91 vso) Forasmuch as many persons, wishing 4 to throw into confusion and to overturn the Church's order through love of opposition and calumny, construct various charges against orthodox Bishops who are ruling the Churches, intending to do nothing else than to sully the administration of priests, and to disturb the peace of peoples and of Churches; therefore it is agreed by the Holy Synod (92) of Bishops who are assembled at Kostantinopolis, that accusers shall not be received without much examination. And not to every man shall it be permitted to make an accusation against those who administer a Church, nor yet shall all men be utterly withheld. Nevertheless, if any man hath a known accusation of his own to bring against the Bishop, as having been oppressed by him, or having been unjustly treated in some other way; in charges like these the persons of the accused shall not be inquired into, or (92 vso) of what doctrine they are. For it is right that the conscience of the Bishop should by all means be clear, and that he who says that he hath been wronged should be vouchsafed justice, of whatsoever religion he may be. But if it be an ecclesiastical charge that comes against the Bishop, then it is requisite that the persons of the accusers be investigated; so that in the first place it may not be permitted to heretics to make charges against orthodox

^d This last sentence forms Canon 5 in the Greek copies.

Bishops concerning matters ecclesiastical. And (93) I call (sing. in MS.) those heretics who have been already proclaimed by the Church, and those who have been afterwards anathematized by us; and together with these, those also who declare that in themselves they hold the sound faith, but who have made schisms, and have gathered congregations in opposition to the Bishops who are in communion with us. And again, if there be men who for any reasons have been accused and ejected from the Church, or are under inhibition, whether they be of the Clergy or of the rank of the Laity, to these also it shall not be lawful to accuse the Bishop, unless (93 vso) they have been first cleared from their own charges. And again those who are already included under a charge shall not be received to accuse the Bishop or other Clergy, unless they first clear themselves from the charges that follow after them. But, if any are found who are neither heretics nor under inhibition, and are not arraigned under accusations, and have not heretofore had charges made against them, but say that they have an ecclesiastical charge against the Bishop: (94) the Synod commands them, that first of all the charges be moved before all the Bishops of the Province, and the accusation that is made against the Bishop be argued for their adjudication. And if it happen that the Bishops of the Province are unable to settle (or correct) the charges that are brought against the Bishop, then they shall come before the Great Synod of the Bishops of that Administration, who shall be sum-

moned for this purpose. And the accusation shall not be resolved until (94 vso) those who prefer the charge be required to undertake in writing that they shall receive an equal punishment, if by inquiry into the matter they are found to be calumniators of the Bishop^e. But if any man, in spite of what has been above determined, shall presume either to trouble the Emperor's hearing, or to approach the Courts of the secular judges, or to disturb an Œcumenical Synod, despising the Bishops of that Administration, he that acts thus shall not be received to effect his accusation, as one who (95) makes light of the holy Canons, and corrupts the good order of the Church^f. (See Ap.)

The remainder of this page and the following pages as far as 100 are occupied with the names of the Bishops who "lifted up the hand" in confirmation of the Decrees. "They were in all a Hundred and Thirty and Five, and Eleven who held up the hand by the hand of others," (p. 100.)

Then follows "the Anaphora which was sent to the God-fearing Emperor Theodosius, by the Synod of the Hundred and Fifty," acquainting him with what had been done, and asking his confirmation

^e One feels inclined to exclaim with Cicero, *O morem præclarum, disciplinamque quam a majoribus accepimus, si quidem teneremus!* Sed, nescio quo pacto, jam de manibus elabitur!

^f The substance of Can. 7, as given by Balsamon and Zonaras, which would be Can. 5 if it followed here, will be found in the form of a Letter at fol. 132 ver. ; see page 71.

of the same. This letter ends on p. 102. Then on 102 vso we have

The Synod of Bishops who were assembled at Chalcedona.

Of the Synod of Chalkedona Canons Twenty and Seven.

167. We think it right that the preceding Canons 1 which up to the present time have been composed by the Fathers in every Synod be in force.

168. (103) If any Bishop give the Laying on of 2 Hands^g of the Priesthood for gold, and bring down to sale the gift that cannot be sold; and for gold shall perform the Laying on of Hands of a Bishop or of a Chorepiscopus, or of a Presbyter, or of a Deacon, or of any of those who are reckoned in the Clerus; or while receiving gold shall make a Steward^h, or an Egdikosⁱ, or a Paramonaro^k, or any other man who fills an office of the Church, for his own (103 vso) filthy gain: he that does this and is convicted shall be thrust out from his degree. And he that hath received Cheirotomy from him shall not receive any advantage from the worldly Laying on of Hands which was done by way of merchandise, but shall

^g In the *Title* the term is *Cheirotomy*. *Of* is here evidently equivalent to *for conferring*, or *in order to make* a Bishop, &c. Cf. Can. 88, 95.

^h Greek *Æconomos*. Administrabat prædia omnia ecclesiastica.

ⁱ Greek *Ecdicos*. Defensor qui reos è clero defendebat.

^k Greek *Paramonarios*. Administer monasterii. All these explanations are taken from the Glossary of I. Meursius in Scapula's Lexicon.

be an alien to his degree and to the administration which was committed to him for gold. And whosoever is seen to have been a go-between in filthy and unlawful gifts like these, let him also, if he be a clerk, fall from his degree : but if he be a layman or a monk, let him be accursed. (See Ap.)

169. (104) It hath come to the knowledge of the 3 Holy Synod that some of those who are in the Clerus have become farmers of lands that are not their own, and conduct secular affairs for the sake of filthy lucre ; and, neglecting the service of God, creep among the houses of seculars, and because of their love of money, take upon themselves the management of properties. The Great Synod therefore decrees that henceforth neither Bishop nor (104 vso) Clerk nor Monk may become a farmer of properties that are not his own, or regulate the management of secular possessions ; that is, unless he be called by the Laws to become a Trustee for those who are not yet come of age, from which (office) he cannot excuse himself ; or the Bishop of the city permit him to have charge of ecclesiastical properties, or of orphans or of widows that are deprived of care, or of such persons as are especially in need of the Church's help, for the fear of our Lord. And if any one (105) presume after this to transgress these things that are decreed, he shall be subject to ecclesiastical punishment. (See Ap.)

170. Those who truly and with firm purpose choose 4 a life of solitude or of monkhood for themselves must be vouchsafed the honour that is right. But whereas there are men who, using the pretence of being

Monks, trouble the Churches and the affairs of the Community, and wander indiscriminately in cities, and study to build monasteries for themselves; it is decreed that no (105 vso) man may anywhere build a monastery or prayer-house or gather an assembly of the brethren without the consent of the Bishop of the city. And the Monks who are in all cities, or in their districts, must be subject to the Bishop, and lovers of peace, occupying themselves only in fasting and in prayer, and abiding in the places in which they became disciples, not troubling or taking any part in the affairs of the Church or of the world. And they may not leave their abodes, unless it happen that for some necessary business some one of them may be bidden (106) by the Bishop of the city. And no man may receive in any of the Monasteries a slave to be made a disciple and to become a Monk, without his lord's consent. And whosoever transgresses our decree, we command him to be placed under interdict, that the name of God be not blasphemed. (See Ap.)

171. With regard to those who migrate from city 5 to city, whether Bishops or Clerks, it is determined that those Canons which have been appointed by the holy Fathers regarding them shall hold good.

172. (106 vso) No man may receive the Laying 6 on of Hands unless some place be assigned to him, neither as Presbyter, nor Deacon, nor any of those that are in the Ecclesiastical order: but he that receives the Laying on of Hands must be specially proclaimed and nominated for a Church of a city

or of a district, or of a Martyry, or of a Monastery. And as to those who receive the Laying on of Hands as unattached and without a place, the Synod decrees (107) that such Laying on of Hands shall be cancelled, and they shall not be able to minister in any place, to the disgrace of him who made them.

173. As to those who have once been made Clerks 7 or Monks, we decree that they must not go to military service, nor to governorship, nor to worldly honour. But if they presume to do this, and do not repent and return to that which they had previously chosen for themselves for God's sake, they must be anathematized from the Church.

174. (107 vso) Clergy who are set over Alms- 8 houses, Infirmaries, or Monasteries, or Martyries, must remain under the authority of the Bishops of the Cities, according to the tradition of the holy Canons, and must not arrogantly bid defiance to the Bishops, but must conduct them in accordance with their wishes. But as for those who presume by any means to annul this ordinance, and are not (108) subject to their Bishops, if they are Clerics, they shall be under censure of the Canons; and if they are monks or laymen, they shall be under interdict.

175. If there be a matter between a Clerk and his 9 neighbour Clerk, he must not leave his Bishop and have recourse to the Secular Courts, but he must in the first place make known and declare his matter before his Bishop, or, with the order of the Bishop,

before those who (108 vso) are chosen on their two sides. And if any man do contrary to these things, he shall be subject to the censure of the Canons. But if a Clerk have a matter for judgment either with his own Bishop or with another Bishop, he must plead his cause before the Synod of the Province. And if there be contention between a Bishop or a Clerk and the Metropolitan of the Province, he must go to the Head of that Administration¹, or to the Throne of the Imperial City Kostantinopolis, and have the case tried before him.

176. (109) It shall not be lawful for a Clerk to 10 be appointed to Churches in two cities together: (to wit) in that wherein he had previously received the Laying on of Hands, and in that to which, as being large and celebrated, he afterwards betook himself, through desire of vain glory. And those who have thus presumed must be restored to that Church wherein they formerly received the Laying on of Hands, and there only shall they be enrolled and minister. And if any man have, previously to this decree, gone from one church (109 vso) to another, he shall not be capable of being promoted to the administration of the affairs of the first Church, or of Martyries, or of Infirmaries, or of Strangers' Hostels. But as to those who, after the command of this Great and Œcumenical Synod, presume to do anything in opposition to these things that are decreed, the Holy Synod decides that they shall fall from their degrees. (See Ap.)

¹ Cf. Can. 183.

177. With regard to the poor who are in want ¹¹ of (110) necessary things we decree that, after inquiry has been made concerning them, they must all be sent on with Ecclesiastical Letters of Peace only, and not with Systatic (Letters), because it is meet that Letters of Commendation, which are called Systatic, should be given only to persons who have a fair name, and whose manner of life is known ^m.

178. It has come to our hearing that certain men, ¹² in opposition to the laws (110 vso) of the Church, have had recourse to the exterior powers, and by means of the Emperor's command, which is called the Pragmatic Form, have divided one Province into two; so that hereby there are two Metropolitans in one Province. The Holy Synod therefore decrees that henceforth none of the Bishops shall presume to do any such thing: and whoever disregards and transgresses this decree shall fall from his degree. As for those cities which by reason of the Emperor's Rescripts have already (111) been honoured with the name of a Metropolis, they and all the Bishops that administer the Churches that are in them shall have only the honour (of the name), its rights being preserved to the city which is really the Metropolis.

179. Foreign Clerks or Readers of another city ¹³ must not minister at all without Systatic Letters of their Bishop. (See Ap.)

180. (111 vso) Whereas there are certain Pro- ¹⁴ vinces in which Readers and Singers are permitted

^m Thus the Syriac clearly supports Routh, who (with Dionysius Exiguus) takes the Greek *Hypolēpsei* in a good sense.

to take wives, the Holy Synod decrees that it shall not be lawful for any one of them to take a wife who belongs to one of the Heresies. And as to those who have children already by such a connection as this, if they have been previously baptized by the Heretics, they must bring them to the Communion of the Catholic Church; but if they are not yet baptized (112) they shall not be allowed to have them baptized among the Heretics. Moreover they must not join them in marriage with Heretics, or with Jews, or with Heathen, unless that person who will join the Orthodox one promises to come to the true Faith. And if any one transgress this decree of the Holy Synod, he shall be subject to the penalties of the Canons.

181. A woman may not be made (112 vso) a 15 Deaconess before forty years (of age), and this after much inquiry. And if she receives the Laying on of Hands, and abides for a certain time in the Ministry, and afterwards gives herself to Marriage, and despises the gift of God, she that is thus shall be accursed, together with him that hath joined himself to her.

182. A Virgin who has offered herself to God, 16 and in like manner a monk also, shall not be permitted to enter (113) the yoke. And if they are found to do this, they must be under inhibition. But we decree that the Bishop of their place shall have power to use clemency regarding them.

183. We decree that the government of the country 17 districts that are in every Province must remain

without disturbance with each one of the Bishops who hold it; and especially if (113 vso) any one has held and administered them for a period of thirty years, no man may raise any disturbance against him. But if within these thirty years there hath been or shall be a dispute concerning them, it is permitted to those who say they are wronged to move for judgment before the Synod of the Province. But if a man is oppressed by his Metropolitan, he must state his case before the Patriarch, or before the Bishop of Kostantinopolis, as was said above^a. And if a city hath been or shall be newly founded at the command of the Emperor, (114) the Order of the affairs of the Church shall follow the civil administration which that city receives. (See Ap.)

184. The crime of conspiracy of those who meet 18 together and become one confederation is utterly prohibited even by the exterior laws: how much more especially, therefore, is it right for us to prohibit it from the Church of God! Therefore if any men, whether Clerks or Monks, be found to be either conspiring together, or making a band, or forming plots against (114 vso) Bishops or Clergy, they shall altogether fall from their degrees.

185. It has come to our hearing that in (some) 19 Provinces the Synods of the Bishops have not been held as is directed by the Canons, (and) that in consequence many ecclesiastical matters which needed rectification have been neglected. The Holy Synod therefore decrees that, in accordance with the Canons

^a Can. 175.

of the Fathers, the Bishops of a Province shall be gathered together twice in the year, (115) wherever the Metropolitan pleases, and shall rectify the things that are mooted; and Bishops who do not assemble, especially when they are in their own cities and in good health, and free from every cause of hindrance, must be reprehended in a brotherly manner.

186. It is not lawful, as we have already decreed, 20 for Clerks who have been appointed to a Church to be enrolled in the Church of another City; (115 vso) but, except those who have been necessarily removed from their places and have come to another Church, they must remain in the Church in which they received Laying on of Hands at the first. And if, after this decree, a Bishop be found to be receiving a Clerk who belongs to another Bishop, it is determined that both he who receives and he who is received shall be under inhibition, until the Clerk who has been received returns to his place. (See Ap.)

187. (116) Clergy or Laity who bring a charge 21 against Bishops or Clerks must not be received to an accusation inconsiderately and without examination, but their own manner of life must be first inquired into and known.

188. It is not permissible for Clerks, according to 22 the decree of the ancient Canons, to seize upon their Bishop's property after his death. And if they do this, (116 vso) they shall fall from their degrees. (See Ap.)

189. This Holy Synod hears that some Clergy and 23 Monks who have nothing entrusted to them by their Bishops, and some of them even while under in-

hibition, go to Kostantinopolis, and spend much time there, troubling and disturbing the peace of the Church, and subverting the houses of some. The Synod therefore decrees that such men as these (117) must be admonished by the Egdikos of the Church of Kostantinopolis to leave the imperial city: and if they continue audaciously in the same (practices), they must be expelled by the hand of the Egdikos, even against their will, and must go to their own places.

190. Those Monasteries which have been separated and consecrated to God with the advice and permission of the Bishop, must remain Monasteries perpetually; and the possessions that belong to them (117 vso) must be preserved for them, and they may not again be made dwellings for seculars. And those who disregard this decree shall be subject to the punishment of the Canons.

191. Forasmuch as some Metropolitans, as we hear, neglect the flocks committed to them, and defer the Cheirotanies of Bishops, it seems good to the Holy Synod that the appointment of a Bishop should be made within three months, unless unavoidable necessity (118) cause the time of delay to be prolonged. And if they do not this, they shall be subject to ecclesiastical punishment. And the income of a Church that is widowed of a Bishop shall be kept in security by the Steward of the Church.

192. Whereas we hear that there are Churches that are without Stewards—the Bishops managing the ecclesiastical revenues, it is decreed that every

Church (118 vso) that hath a Bishop shall also have a Steward out of its Clergy, and he shall manage its revenues with the advice and by the direction of the Bishop, so that he may not have the administration of the Church untestified, and the Church's revenues dissipated thereby, while the priesthood receives reproach. And if he will not do this, he shall be subject to the Ecclesiastical Canons.

193. As to those who ravish women under the name of marriage, or who sustain and assist the ravishing, (119) the Synod decrees that, if they are Clergy, they shall fall from their degrees, but if they are laity, they shall be accursed. (See Ap.)

THEY ARE COMPLETE. (See Ap.)

And those of the Bishops who were able held up the hand; for many members of the [Holy^o] Synod, either by reason of extreme old age, or because of weakness of body, were unable to wait unto the advanced evening to hold up the hand.

The remainder of this page, and the 43 pages that follow, are occupied with the names of the Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, Subdeacons, and Readers, who voted either in their own right, or as representing their respective Bishops. (See Ap.)

^o The word has been erased, doubtless by the Jacobite who has defaced other portions of the MS. In the margin is written *Detestable*.

On fol. 132 vso we have the following:—

The Letter which was written from Kostantinopolis, which makes known how those who come from heresy are there received^p.

The God-loving Presbyter Anton spoke somewhat to me about those who come to Orthodoxy from among the Heretics—how it is meet that they should be received; and conformably with him speaks all the order and custom which is here. And it seems to me that it is necessary, (*lit.* urgently fitting), that I should write to thy Holiness, who art a Father of Fathers, and of the race of him who spoke divinely, John who was our (133) Archbishop—That we receive Arians, and Makedonians, and Sambatians, and Novatians, who call themselves Puritans, and Quartodecimans, that is Tetradiatæ, who say that they are especially pure, and Apolinaritæ, in this manner, when they have given libels^q, and have anathematized every heresy, which does not think as the Holy and Catholic Church (of which thou art a Head and Primate), and have been sealed with holy oil on their foreheads and their nostrils and their ears and their breasts and all (133 vso) their senses. And when we sign them we say, The seal

^p The substance of this Letter is given by Balsamon and Zonaras as the 7th Canon of the Council of Constantinople. But it is wanting in all the ancient Latin Translations of those Canons, and in the Arabic Paraphrase. the Collection of John of Antioch, and the Epitome of Symeon the Master. Moreover, the Sabbatians do not appear to have become a sect until A.D. 392. It is repeated in Can. 95 of the Trullan Council.

^q i.e. a written and formal request.

of the Gift of the Holy Ghost. And after these things, that we receive laymen that are in earnest on this wise: we give them that Laying on of Hands which every one of them had in his (former) Church, whether Presbyters or Deacons or Subdeacons or Readers or Singers. But Eunomians who are baptized with one time (one immersion) only, and Montanists who are here called Phrygians, and Sabellians who teach Patrofilianism and do other evil things, and all the other heresies—for there are many (134) here with us, coming from the land of Galatia—all that from among them are added to the Church we receive as heathens. And on the first day we instruct them, and make them Christians, and on the second day Hearers, and on the third day we exorcise them and blow on their faces and on their ears, and then we bring them near for instruction, and make them stay in the Church and hear the Holy Scriptures, and after this we baptize them. These things as your man I have diligently written. (See Ap.)

[Pages 134 vso to 136 inclusive contain a “*Sacra*” or Rescript of the Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian addressed to Stephen, Bishop of Ephesus, enforcing by Pragmatic Ordinance the observance of the 2nd Canon of Constantinople^r.]

[At page 136 vso we have the first part of the Definition of the Faith made at Chalcedon, thus:—]

^r I cannot find this *Sacra* in Labbé and Cossart. It clearly belongs to the latter years of Theodosius, who died A.D. 450.

The things which were defined in Chalkedona concerning the Faith.

Our Lord and our Saviour Christ, when confirming the knowledge of the Faith to His disciples, said, My Peace I give unto you, My Peace I leave unto you: so that no man might be divided against his neighbour in belief of the Truth, but that all should alike confess the proclamation of the Truth.

But forasmuch as the Evil One ceaseth not to cause his Tares to spring up against the Seed of the Faith, and is at all times inventing novelties against the Truth, therefore the Lord of all, taking care for the race of the sons of men, according to His wont, hath excited zeal [in this faithful and God-fearing Emperor^s], (137) and he hath gathered to him from every place the heads of the priesthood, in order that, with the operation of the grace of Christ the Lord of all of us, he might repel the stratagems of fraud from His reasonable sheep, and might feed and fatten them in pastures of truth. And this we have done, and by a judgment common to all we have put away the teaching of error and have renewed afresh the Faith of the Fathers, and have proclaimed to all men the Faith of the Three hundred and Eighteen. And we enrol as our Fathers those who received this Symbol of the Faith, to wit, those Hundred and Fifty who were afterwards assembled in the great City of Kostantinopolis, and

* These words have been erased, and the complimentary terms are reversed in a note by some later hand.

who also put their seal to the (137 vso) same Faith. Wherefore we also, keeping the order and the whole tradition of the Faith of the Holy Synod which was sometime in Ephesus, whose heads, holy and worthy of memory, were Kelestinus Bishop of Rome, and Kyrilus, Bishop of Alexandria—decree that the true and faultless Faith of the Three hundred and Eighteen holy and blessed Fathers who were assembled in Nikia, in the days of the blessed Kostantinos, is first of all resplendent: and that those things also must be maintained which were determined by the holy Fathers (138) who were assembled in Kostantinopolis for the abolition of the heresy which sprung forth at that time, and for the confirmation of the Apostolic and Catholic Faith.

[Here the Definition ends in this MS., the remainder of which, as far as fol. 150 vso, contains letters from Leo, Bishop of Rome, to Anatolius and to the Emperor Marcian, which will be found on the 78th and following pages. But we first give the remainder of this important Definition, taken from MS. 14526 fol. 36 vso. In this MS. the Definition is given in the order in which it is found in the Greek Copies: i.e. First comes the Decree translated above; then the Creeds of Nicæa and Constantinople (for which see pp. 3 to 6 of this book); then the concluding portion of the Definition as follows:—]

This wise and salutary doctrine of the Faith, which was composed by the grace of God, might suffice^t for

^t Cf. Andrew of Rhodes in Co. of Ferrara, Labbé XVIII. col. 210.

true and perfect knowledge, and for the true fear of God ; for it teaches perfectly concerning the Father, and concerning the Son, and concerning the Holy Ghost, and it indicates to such as receive it faithfully the Incarnation of our Lord.

But because of those who in their heresies have dared to deny the preaching of the Truth, and have begotten new terms, and have presumed to corrupt the Mystery of the Dispensation of our Lord which was for our sakes, and deny the term Theotocos^u to the Virgin ; while others have brought in a Mixture and a Confusion, and senselessly rave about One Nature (Chiono) of the Flesh and of the Divinity, and think that the Divine Nature of the Son was capable of suffering through the Confusion :—

Therefore this great and holy and œcumenical Synod, wishing to shut out all machinations that plot against the Truth, while teaching continually, according to her wont, the unshaken teaching, Decrees first of all,

That the Faith of the Three hundred and Eighteen holy Fathers shall remain unchanged : and it confirms again the doctrine which was perfected by the Hundred and Fifty Fathers who were afterwards assembled in the imperial city concerning the Substance (Ithutho) of the Holy Ghost, against those who spoke blasphemously against the Spirit : which (doctrine) they made known to all ; not that they introduced these as new doctrines, as if something had been deficient in those who were before them ; but they made their mind concerning the Holy Spirit openly known, and declared (it) by testimonies of the Scriptures against those who went about to deny His Lordship.

Then, with regard to those who presume to corrupt

^u As did Nestorius in his Letter to Cyril, Labbé III. 876.

the Mystery of the Dispensation, and in their stolidity say with impudent audacity that He Who was born of the holy Virgin Mary was simple Son of Man, it receives the Synodical Letters^{*} of holy Kyrilos, Pastor of the Church of Alexandria, as fittingly addressed to Nestorius and to the Easterns, for the refutation of the insanity of Nestorius's opinion, and for profitable explanation to those who from zeal for the fear of God desire to know the Mystery of the Faith.

To which Letters it justly joins the Letter of the holy and blessed Archbishop Leo[†], Bishop of the Great and Senior Rome, which was written to him who is with the Saints, Archbishop Flavian, to annul the evil opinion of Eutycha ; as agreeing with the confession of the great Petros, and as being a common pillar against those who think wickedly, and for the confirmation of the right Faith.

For it opposes those who think to separate the Mystery of the Dispensation into Two Sons : And it puts away and rejects from the Assembly of Priests those who dare to say that the Divinity of the Only-Begotten is capable of Suffering : And it stands up against those who insinuate a Confusion into the Two Natures (Chiono) of Christ : And it repels those who are insane enough to say that the likeness of a bondservant which He took from us was from a heavenly or from some other nature : And it anathematizes those who say, in reckless trifling, that there were Two Natures of our Lord before the Union, but after it One Nature[‡].

We therefore, joining ourselves to the holy Fathers, do all of us with one accord teach (men) to confess our

^{*} In Labbé III., 863, 867, 943 ; especially the last two.

[†] In Labbé IV., 1213, &c.

[‡] As did Eutyches before the assembled Council, Labbé IV., 1015.

Lord Jesus Christ to be One and the same Son: the same perfect in Deity, and the same perfect in Humanity: God in truth, and Son of Man in truth, being still the same, of a reasonable soul and body: Son of the Nature (Chiono) of His Father in Divinity, and the same the Son of our Nature in His Humanity, and like unto us in everything except sin: Who was Begotten of His Father before the worlds in His Divinity; but, being the same, was in the last days for us and for our salvation begotten of the Virgin Mary, who brought forth God, in Humanity: One and the same Christ: Son of God: Lord: Only-begotten: to be acknowledged in Two Natures; without Change; without Variation; without Division; without Separation: the Difference of the Natures being in no wise taken away by reason of the Union, but rather the Property of each of the Natures being preserved and running together into one Person (Partsupho) and into one Substance (Knumo); not divided or separated into Two Persons, but One and the same Son, the Only-begotten, God the Word, the Lord Jesus Christ, as the Prophets shewed of old about Him, and Jesus Christ Himself hath taught us, and the Symbol of the Faith of the Fathers has delivered unto us.

These things therefore having been determined by us with all accuracy on every side and with no lack of care, the Holy and Œcumenical Synod commands that it shall be unlawful for any man to indicate another Faith (or Creed), or to write or to compose or to think or to teach otherwise. And as for those who presume to write or to set forth or to teach or to deliver another Faith (Creed) to those who desire to turn to the acknowledgment of the Truth, either from Heathenism, or from Judaism, or from any doctrine whatever: these, if they

are Bishops or Clergy, the Holy Synod bids that Bishops shall be strangers to their Episcopate and Clerics to the Clerus ; if they are Monks or Laymen they shall be accursed.

THE DEFINITION OF THE SYNOD IS COMPLETE.

[LEON, . . . HEAD]^a.

*Of the Bishops of the Older Rome, to Anatol, [Head]^a
of the Bishops of Kostantinopolis.*

Forasmuch as, in accordance with our prayers, the Truth of the Gospel hath by the grace of God plainly shone resplendent, and the baneful darkness of error hath been dispelled from the Catholic Church, we rejoice exceedingly in our Lord, through Whom our labour in behalf of the dispensation that is committed unto us hath come to the completion which we desired, (138 vso) even as the reading of thy letter maketh manifest, so that, according to the teaching of the Apostles (*sic*), we may all think the same thing, and there may be no divisions among us, but that we may be perfect in one mind and in one knowledge. And in every matter we shall rejoice in the goodwill of thy love, that thou art a partaker with us, so that the things which need rectification may be completed by means of thy taking up thy burden, and that thou mayest purge thyself from those who are strangers to concord.

^a These words are nearly erased.

For when thy predecessor^b, equal to a Pauline memory, was ejected because of (his) vindication of the truth which is held in every place, it was not without due reason to be expected that those who, (139) in opposition to the Canons, laid hands upon thee^c, thought that they were making (i.e. ordaining) a man who would be a son of their own persuasion. But the mercy of God assisted, Who directed and brought thee hereunto, that thou mightest employ to good purpose a beginning that was not a fair one ; and that it might appear that the choice of thee was not of men, but by the grace of God. And verily it is meet that we should accept this as being so, so long as thou dost not lose by another offence the Gift of God which is thine. For since thou servest the true will of our Lord, it is right for thee to take heed that thou fall not by error : thus also thou shalt not be destroyed by lusts. For Holy Scripture saith, Go not after thy lusts, (139 vso) and from the passion of thine eyes restrain thy soul^d. It is necessary that we should stand manfully against the sins of the world and its lusts, that so there may be purity within. For of sins like these, first there is the exaltation of pride, which is the beginning of transgression of the law, and the first parent of sin. For the soul that lusts after dominion shrinks not from things that are forbidden : and things that are conceded suffice not for it. For a man who desires to

^b Flavian.^c The MS. has upon *us*, a plain mistake.^d Ecclesiasticus xviii. 30.

be advanced in degrees of headship wickedly and inordinately transgresseth the law, and manifests frequent follies: though men have some toleration for these things (140) (through) a resemblance to ardour for the Faith, and zeal for common unity.

Now, after the Laying on of hands upon thee, which was honoured (? forgiven) by us, thy beginning was not without a fault, which was the ordination of a Bishop belonging to Antiochia^e, which thou didst take upon thyself contrary to the Canons. For I grieve over this, that thy love hath slipped and fallen by transgressing the Canons of Nikia; and thou hast presumed to cast aside (its) decree, as if this time^f were giving thee a hand, whereby the Church of Alexandria might lose her rights and the second dignity, and that of Antioch the third dignity, which was her due alone: so that, when these had been made subject (140 vso) to thy authority, all metropolitan governments might be defrauded of their dignity.

By all which means, which had not been so much as heard of, and on which no man had ventured,

* So I venture to translate words which would more simply be translated *ordination of the Bishop of Antiochia*, because Maximus was made Bishop of Antioch about the same time that Anatolius was made Bishop of Constantinople, and I find no hint that his consecration was performed by Anatolius. The claim of the Archbishop of Constantinople was to ordain the Metropolitans of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace: whereas the first two may have been formerly reckoned as being under the jurisdiction of Antioch. L. and C. IV. 1778.

^f Because, Dioscorus being deposed, the Throne of Alexandria was vacant, and everything in confusion.

thou didst easily descend to all this, that thou mightest pervert to thy love of supremacy that Synod which was convened by the solicitude of the God-loving Emperor for the sole purpose of extinguishing whatever was heretical, and of confirming whatever was of the true faith, and mightest draw it to concede to thee that upon which thou hadst wickedly set thy mind. Thou didst suppose, forsooth, that these things which were irregularly done could not be reversed, inasmuch as they were agreed to and received by many ; as if (141) it were possible that that edifice of Canons, which the Synod that was convened at Nikia set up by the aid of the Holy Ghost, could be made to totter even in the tiniest portion. Let not any Synod, numerous in its members, vainly imagine—even though a multitude of many Bishops should be found therein—that it is by any means comparable with those three hundred and eighteen holy Bishops, or deem that it is more honourable than they. So entire, by the grace of God, is its precedency in honour, that whether it is by many or by few that ecclesiastical decisions are ready to be made, whatsoever does not agree with what was ordained by them is without any authority. (141 vso) Very reprobate, therefore, and wicked are the things which are opposed to the Divine Canons. For this lofty pride extends itself to the confusion of all Churches. It was so thoroughly bent upon abusing the hands 'of the Synod (i.e. the opportunity afforded by the Synod), that it—this pride which covets dominion not its own—compelled

the Brethren, who were assembled only about the Faith, when they had discharged their Ministry in that business, to consent to wickedness like this, terrifying, coaxing, worrying, or using oppression.

Wherefore our Brethren, who were sent from the Apostolic Throne, and were holding our (*lit.* my) place (142) in the Synod, duly and valiantly withstood this utter insolence that was contrary to law, and openly declared that this unlawful precedency should not bring in any innovation against those things which were determined in Nikia. And nothing can be found to oppose the diligence (of their resistance), of which thou didst complain in thy letter, when thou saidst that they were pleased to withstand thy will. And hereby thou hast very highly commended them to me, and art seen to find fault with that very thing wherein thou shewest thyself to be especially blamable, who hast been shewing thyself as about to do what is against the law; and didst not listen to them; and didst demand (142 vso) those things which cannot be conceded unto thee; and hast wickedly desired those things which are contrary—things which we will not by any means consent to do. God forbid that any such thought should be entertained as that, by my taking up the burden, this evil desire should be upheld, and not rather that it should be overturned by the hand of my assistance, and that of all those who mind not high things, but adhere to that which is lowly.

For the Holy Fathers who were at Nikia, when

they had condemned Arius, the spoiler of the holy House, together with his wickedness, decreed Ecclesiastical Laws of Canons, which endure for ever : and with us, and in every place, they live by the hand of their Laws ; and if any innovation in priority, contrary to what was determined by them, be made by (143) any persons, this is at once annulled : so that those things which in every place have been established for common advantage may not in any thing at all receive change or addition ; that no man may transgress a decree in respect of anything which has been certainly fixed for the common good.

Therefore, seeing those limits which were fixed by the Fathers abide immovable, let no man invade a foreign administration which is not his own ; but let every man abide within lawful limits, and let him that aboundeth in dominion extend himself in love : from which the Bishop of Kostantinopolis may gather for himself especially great and rich fruits, if, rather than (143 vso) all other things, he be pleased to be conversant with the virtue of meekness, and be not puffed up by the spirit of the love of dominion.

Therefore, Brother, be not willing to think high things ; but fear ; and desist from vexing the hearing of the Christ-loving Emperors with thy disorderly request : whom I am persuaded thou wilt rather be able to please by meekness than by hauteur. For these things which thou covetest cannot be given thee, even though thou mayest derive some little

assistance from the subscriptions of the Bishops who were assembled at Kostantinopolis sixty^g years ago, which were not notified to the Apostolic throne by the Bishops who were before thee. This, which from the first was weak (144) and unable to stand, thou dost now unseasonably desire to make use of, and thou desirest to bring in useless divisions^h (*or* ? ambiguities) by enticing (or fishing) from the Bishops some resemblance to consent by holding up their hands, which with self-denial they conceded through the modesty which thou didst urge upon them.

Remember, therefore, how He threatens him who offends one of the little ones, and consider wisely what condemnation is determined by God against him who offends all these Churches, and the Bishops that are in them. For my part, I am so thoroughly bounden by the love of the common brotherhood, that I will not by any means consent to those who demand what is injurious. (144 vso) And thou too mayest clearly know that I use goodwill and love, and write these things that thou mayest be of a sound mind, and mayest withdraw thyself from the disturbance that is come upon the Holy Catholic Church, and upon the Archpriests that are in the Provinces. Let not, therefore, the rights of the Churches be torn from them; nor let the Metropolitans be defrauded of the Precedency of honour

^g Sic. The Latin too has *sexaginta*.

^h Perhaps, to introduce Divisions that have not been used (i.e. customary), &c.

which hath been given them from the beginning. And let nothing of the honour that has been given to the Church of Alexandria be diminished; for it was vouchsafed to it by the Holy Markos, who was an Evangelist and a disciple of the blessed Petros; and only by the hand of the [ⁱ] Dioscora was it diminished. Ah, let not the (145) splendour and the purity of a Church like this be now disturbed by foreign darkness. Nor, again, let the Church of Antiochia, wherefrom, when the Blessed Peter preached therein, the name of Christians first began, and afterwards in its rank, according to the decrees of the Fathers, had the third degree reserved to it, be ejected from (its) dignity. For the seats are one thing: those who sit upon them another: and great is the honour of the uninjured right and rank of each of them. And if rank be observed in other places, how much more in the Church of Kostantinopolis, which (will be) resplendent in magnificence, if by means of thy circumspection thou (145 vso) art a pattern to others, and an example of observance of the Canons of the Fathers. As I write these things unto thee, my brother, I counsel and admonish (thee) in our Lord to put away from thee the lust of ambition, and to take instead thereof a warm charity, and to adorn thyself with its virtues, according to the

ⁱ This word is erased: it was perhaps *impious*, the Latin having *impietatis suæ*. In the margin is written *illustrious*; and at the foot of the leaf is the following:—And concerning him, to thy mouth, wicked Leo, is the defilement. The erased word may have been *defiled*.

Apostolic doctrine. For if charity seeketh not her own, how exceedingly doth he sin who coveteth that which belongs to others. From which I wish that thou mayest keep aloof altogether, and mayest remember the word that saith, Keep that thou hast, lest another take thy crown. For if thou seekest after that which is against the law, by thine own deed thou deprivest thyself (pace ecclesiæ universalis. Frater autem et coepiscopus noster Lucianus, et filius noster, Basilius diaconus, quantum in ipsis fuit, studiose his quæ illis injunxeras adfuere; sed actioni eorum justitia negavit affectum. Data xi. Kal. Junii, Herculano viro clarissimo consule.]

The foregoing quotation from the Latin gives the remainder of the letter, which is lost in our MS. It would occupy probably about half a page of the Syriac, and the missing portion of Leo's letter to Marcian about one and a half pages more, so that I apprehend that only one fol. of the MS. is lost from this place. This part of Leo's letter to the Emperor may as well be given in Latin. I take it from Labbé and Cossart, IV. 1788, 9 :—

Leo Episcopus Romanæ et universalis ecclesiæ, Marciano Augusto.

Magno munere misericordiæ Dei, totius ecclesiæ catholicæ multiplicata sunt gaudia, cum sancto et glorioso clementiæ vestræ studio, perniciosissimus error extinctus est, ut labor noster citius ad de-

sideratum perveniret effectum, quem Deo serviens principatus vester et fide et potestate juvisset. Quia etsi in virtute Spiritus sancti inter quaslibet dissensiones per sedis apostolicæ famulatum evangelii erat defendenda libertas, manifestior tamen apparuit gratia Dei, quæ præstitit mundo, ut in victoria veritatis auctores tantum violatæ fidei deperirent et sua integritas, &c.,—which may be summarized as follows :—The joy of the Church was multiplied when by thy zeal error was extinguished, so that our labour, aided by thy faith and power, quickly attained the issue desired. For although the liberty of the Gospel had still to be defended, yet the grace of God was manifest, in that only the authors of the violation of the faith were put to confusion, and her own integrity—here we return to our MS. (fol. 146)—was restored undefiled to the Church. The war, therefore, which the adversary of our peace had excited was directed to a completion, the right hand of our Lord assisting us, and Himself being our helper. And He gave the victory, and the triumph of all the priests was seen, and the light of the truth shone forth, and only the infirmity of error was dispelled, together with those who pleaded for it. And as the hesitation of the Apostles was for the confirmation of your faith in the Resurrection of the Lord, (and) for the admonition of us all; for they taught us thereby the Incarnation and the Resurrection of Christ, by the sight and touch of the places of the nails and of the lance, and by their investigation and inquiry have shut out every one

from controversy about the Resurrection ; so also [146 vso] now, the misbelief of some having been refuted, the opinion of all who had hesitated hath been confirmed ; and hence an advantage hath arisen in common, forasmuch as souls have been enlightened through the obscurity of error.

In which matter we are persuaded that your lordship also justly rejoices, which took care especially and faithfully of this portion, so that the Churches in the East should by no means receive injury of Satan, and that in every place Peace offerings might be offered for the reconciliation of God, and that, through the Mediator between God and man, the Man Jesus Christ, the confession of peoples and priests and kings might be one and the same.

But these matters (147) having been brought to completion by a Synod of Priests like these, and having had a fair outcome according to our prayers, I marvel and am grieved that, when the Church had received from God her rest as before, a Spirit of ambition is again causing disturbance. Especially, although our brother Anatol seemeth to regard those things that are of advantage to him, and stands aloof from the error of those from whom he received the Laying on of hands, and is a son of agreement with the Catholic Church, and useth salutary correction : yet withal he ought to have regard to that which was given him by grace, lest he destroy it through the evil lust of ambition.

(147 vso) For when we bore in mind the moderation of your faithfulness in regard to the Laying hands

upon him, although we were much in doubt about those who received Laying on of hands from them, we purposed to use goodwill towards him, and not justice, in order that by our healing medicines, we might bring to nought the disturbances which had arisen through the diligence of Satan.

And this ought to have rendered him modest rather than arrogant ; who, even if he had received the Laying on of hands in accordance with canonical custom, by a worthy election, and after the inquiry that was meet, is guilty, because he hath used opposition to the Canons of the Fathers in that which was not his due : seeing he would transgress (148) the decrees and examples of the Church, and would think that the Canons are insufficient to maintain themselves. I speak to a Christian and orthodox Emperor who truly fears God. Very much will the Bishop Anatol lose of his honour, if he thus unlawfully lusts after greatness. Let the city of Kostantinopolis have, as we wish, its own honour and glory, apart from that which is due to that Stone which our Lord placed in the foundations, without which no ecclesiastical edifice can be firm. For he who lusts after what is not his due, loses also his own. Let the (148 vso) aforesaid Anatol know that by the aid of your lordship and the assistance of my acceptance he holds the episcopate of such a city, and let not this which is the chief city of the Empire be despised in his eyes ; seeing he cannot make his an apostolic throne, and may not hope that his own grandeur will be increased through others' loss. For the

dignity of the Churches which was defined by the Canons of the Fathers, and was confirmed by the mind of the Holy Synod in Nikia, may not be weakened by any means, nor can it be changed by any innovation. (149) And seeing that, by the help of God, I am ministering in such a matter as this, it is necessary for me not to fail in the ministry that I am bound unto. For to me is committed the entire dispensation, and a peril hastens after, if, through my neglect, any one shall set aside the patristic law of Canons which the Synod in Nikia decreed, by whose hands the entire government of the Church was confirmed—which God forbid, and grant it may not be—and (if) the pleasure of a single brother be promoted and honoured by me rather than the advantage in common of the whole house of God.

Therefore, since I know that your glorious lordship has a care for the concord of the Churches, (149 vso) and is in special agreement with those things which accord with peaceful unity, I beseech and pray with earnest remembrance that these attempts, which are unfavourable to the Christian community, and contrary to peace, may, by your consenting with us, be altogether denounced: oh, restrain the pernicious lust of our brother Anatol, if he will persist therein; providing for things that are salutary, lest he, being held by the lust that is contrary to those things that are your glory, and to your merciful times, fall from that which is meet. For very greatly will this man altogether domineer, that he may surpass in

primacy the bishops that have been before him : whom he may surpass, if

Here a folio is lost. The Latin (from which the Syriac varies a good deal here and there) may be summarized as follows:—if he be rather willing to adorn himself with charity than to distend himself with ambition. He should never indeed have admitted so wicked a desire into his heart, and should have yielded to the opposition of my brethren and fellow-bishops who were present in my stead. For that they offered a most just opposition is clear, both from the declarations of the officers sent by your piety, and from his own writings, so that his presumption is the less excusable. Wherefore, since it is consistent with your faith and glory, that, as you were God's instrument in the destruction of the heresy, so all ostentation should be in like manner restrained, take such measures as to oblige the Bishop to obey the Fathers, to act peaceably, and to discard the claim that it was within his right to ordain a Bishop belonging to the Church of Antioch.

Here we return to our MS. (150).

. . . another place, contrary to the Canons in Priority, he made a Bishop : a thing which we, being held by love for the faith and by desire for peace, have not desired so much as simply to ask for. Let him therefore keep aloof from contempt of the Ecclesiastical Canons, and not come near to a work that transgresseth the law, lest he cut himself off from the Catholic Church, inasmuch as he altogether behaves with hostility to the things that belong to

peace; whom I pray that I may rather love, as living without blame, than as persisting in this presumption which (150 vso) is able to separate him from all.

My brother and fellow-minister Lukiano, with my son Basil the Deacon, who brought to us the Rescripts of your Serenity, have with all goodwill fulfilled the ministry of the legation which was committed to them, and must not be supposed to have been at all wanting; but the matter itself, because of its difficulty, did not proceed after their desire.

IT IS COMPLETE.

It was given in the Month Thamuz, in the Consulship of Erkulanus.

[The Colophon of Add. MSS. 14528,—]

(151) *There are complete in this Book One hundred and Ninety and Three Canons: and they were composed by Eight different Synods, and were translated from Greek into Aramean carefully and with lucidity, in the City Mabug in the year Eight hundred and Twelve of Alexandros.*

APPENDIX A.

PAGE

2. On the 19th of it, &c. : Gk. ΕΝ ΜΗΝΙ ΔΕΣΙΩΙ
ΕΝΝΕΑΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΘΗ ΠΡΟ ΔΕΚΑΤΡΙΩΝ ΚΑΛΑΝ-
ΔΩΝ ΙΟΥΔΙΩΝ.
- „ *I believe* : Gk. πιστεύομεν, as in Soc. I. 8.
- „ *The Son of God* : so the Greek, i.e. without the
Only Begotten, which has been inserted in a
later hand.
3. *Son of the Substance (ithutho)* : Gk. ὁμοούσιον.
- „ *Another Nature or Substance* : Gk. ἑτέρας ὑποστά-
σεως ἢ οὐσίας. Syr. K'numo or *Ithutho*.
- „ *I believe* : Gk. πιστεύομεν.
- „ *God of God* is wanting in both the Gk. and the
MS. *Light of Light* is found in the Gk., but
not in the MS.
- „ *Son of the Substance (ithutho)* : Gk. ὁμοούσιον.
4. *Came down* : the Gk. adds *from heaven*. This
variation was noticed at Ferrara (A.D. 1438),
Session VII.
- „ *Of the H. Ghost, and of the V. Mary* : Gk.
of the H. Ghost and the V. Mary.
- „ *in the prophets* : Gk. διὰ τ. πρ.
- „ *I confess . . . I hope* : Gk. *we . . . we*.
5. **Can. 1.** *presented for the laying on of hands* : Gk.
has simply προάγεσθαι.

PAGE

5. **Can. 2.** *the blessed Apostle . . . recent* : Gk. *the Apostolic rescript is clear, which says, Not a novice, lest, being puffed up, he fall into judgment and a snare of the devil.* The MS. quotes the Peshito, in which however we do not find *and the snare.*
6. *ibid. soul-sin* : Gk. *Ψυχικόν τι ἁμάρτημα.* Zonaras expl. it to signify haughtiness, disobedience, or the like, as distinguished from sins of the flesh.
- „ *ibid. shall fall from his Priesthood* : Gk. *κινδυνεύσει περὶ τὸν κλῆρον.*
- „ **Can. 4.** *be constituted (nethsim)* : Gk. *καθίστασθαι.*
- „ *ibid. the ordination (chirotonia)* : Gk. *χειροτονίαν.*
7. **Can. 5.** *animosity (ruomo)* : Gk. *μικροψυχία.*
- „ **Can. 6.** It will be seen that this MS. supports the reading of the Gk. as we have it. Paschasinus, one of Leo's representatives at the Synod of Chalcedon recited the Canon as follows :—*ἡ ἐκκλησία Ῥώμης πάντοτε ἔσχε τὰ πρωτεία. ἔχει τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἡ Αἴγυπτος, ὥστε τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Ἀλεξανδρείας πάντων ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ Ῥώμης ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο σύνηθές ἐστιν. κ.τ.λ.* Paschasinus was however immediately followed by Constantinus, a secretary of the consistory, who, from a codex given him by Aetius the Archdeacon of Constantinople, read the canon as follows :—*τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατεῖτω, τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ὥστε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπον πάντων ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν*

PAGE

Ρώμη ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο σύνηθές ἐστιν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις, τὰ πρεσβεῖα σῶζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. κ.τ.λ. just as we have it in the Greek copies of these Canons.

It will be seen that our MS. supports this reading, and with it accord the Addl. MSS. 14526 and 14529, the latter being *identical* with our MS., except in the fuller spelling of the word *Episcopo*. Of Latin versions those of Dionysius Exiguus (6th cent.), and Isidore Mercator (9th cent.), correspond with our Greek copies, and with our MS. (with the writer of which Dionysius was contemporary); but one ancient Latin version (given by Justellus Bibl. T. 1. p. 284) stands thus:—*Antiqui moris est ut urbis Romæ episcopus habeat principatum, ut suburbicaria loca et omnem provinciam sua sollicitudine gubernet; quæ vero apud Ægyptum sunt, Alexandriæ episcopus omnium habeat sollicitudinem: similiter autem et circa Ant. &c.* With this accords Ruffinus (5th cent.), mentioning the jurisdiction of the Bp. of Rome as extending over the suburbicarian Churches. *πρεσβεῖα* in the Canon is translated by *kadimiutho*, *precedency*, in our MS.

8. Can. 7. *rank* (*taxo*): Gk. ἀκολουθίαν, his see ranking next to, or following, that of the Metropolitan see, Cæsarea.

PAGE

10. **Can. 11.** *spend*, lit. *do* : so the Gk. ποιήσουσιν.
Routh compares Acts xx. 3 ; 2 Cor. xi. 25.
- „ *ibid.* *below* (*l'takhith men*) : Gk. ἐν ἄκρ. *Among the hearers*, so repeatedly.
- „ **Can. 12.** *laid aside their girdles*. Beveridge explains this as equivalent to *have renounced their military life*.
11. **Can. 13.** *that which is necessary* : Gk. τελευταίου καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτου, with various readings for τελευταίου. May the original have been simply τοῦ ἀναγκ. ? This would be in accord with this MS. Isidore Mercator has only *necessario*. Dionysius Exiguus has *ultimo et maximè necessario*.
- „ **Can. 14.** It will be seen that this Canon is a little amplified in the Syriac, by explanation of the Greek terms *Catechumens* and *Acroatae*.
12. **Can. 16.** *giving themselves over to peril* : Gk. ῥιψοκινδύνως, *rashly*.
- „ *ibid.* *ranks of the Clerus* : Gk. ἐν τῷ κανόνι.
13. **Can. 17.** *alien from his ministry* : Gk. ἀλλότριος τοῦ κανόνος.
14. **Can. 19.** *ejected from their places* : Gk. καθαιρεῖσθαι.
- „ **Can. 20.** *Province* (*Heparchia*) : Gk. παροικία.
17. **Can. 24.** *to that which is perfect* : Gk. ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον—ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν ἀγιασμάτων μετάληψις. Zonaras.
18. *ibid.* *But of all of them* : Gk. πρὸ πάντων δέ, but before all things, i.e. especially.

PAGE

18. **Can. 25.** *conditionally* : Gk. ἐπὶ ὄρφ.
19. **Can. 29.** *in the ministry* : Gk. ὑπηρεσία.
 „ *ibid.* *at the time . . . of Hands* : Gk. simply παρ’
 αὐτὴν τὴν κατάστασιν.
20. **Can. 31.** *cleansed by Baptism* : Gk. ἀπολουσα-
 μένους.
 „ **Can. 32.** This Can. runs thus in Gk. Χωρεπισκό-
 ποις μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν,
 ἀλλὰ μὴν μηδὲ πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως, χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπι-
 τραπῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μετὰ γραμμάτων ἐν
 ἐκάστη παροικίᾳ. See on this Canon Routh’s
 Reliq. Sacrae, IV. pp. iii.—v.
 „ **Can. 33.** *hold it abominable* : the usual Gk.
 reading is βούλονται, but Routh gives a reading
 βδελύσσονται, which our MS. supports. Diony-
 sius Exig. transl. *Quod si in tantum eas abomi-
 nantur.*
 „ *ibid.* *the Canon* : prob. Can. Ap. 52. Ed. Bruns.
 „ **Can. 34.** *Bishop’s judgment* : literally, Bp.’s *ex-
 amination* (into the matter).
21. **Can. 36.** *objects of abhorrence* : the Gk. here
 is Τοὺς ἀλογευσαμένους καὶ λέπρους ὄντας, ἧτοι
 λεπρώσαντας, κ.τ.λ., which some would under-
 stand metaphorically, others literally : but
 there is nothing about leprosy in our MS.,
 and the readings are widely variant. The
r in *methmasrin* appears to have been partially
 erased ; and MS. 14529’ has *methmasin, wast-
 ing away.*
22. **Can. 39.** *they shall be vouchsafed* : i.e. the

AGE

offender, whether wife or husband. The Gk. has the singular, δοκεῖ αὐτὸν, of the man only, unless the masculine includes the feminine. But cf. Hermæ pastor. II. Mand. IV. c. 1.

22. **Can. 39.** *gradations*: Gk. βαθμοὺς. So too in Can. 42, &c.

„ **Can. 40.** *We consent*: Gk. συντίθενται.

24. **Can. 49.** The Gk., as we have it, is κατηχούμενος ἐὰν εἰσερχόμενος εἰς κυριακὸν ἐν τῇ τῶν κατηχομένων τάξει στήκη, οὗτος δὲ ἀμαρτάνων (al. φανῇ ἀμαρτάνων), ἐὰν μὲν γόνυ κλίνων, ἀκροάσθω μηκέτι ἀμαρτάνων· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἀκροώμενος ἔτι ἀμαρτάνῃ, ἐξωθείσθω. May an early reading have been μηκέτι κλίνων instead of μηκ. ἀμαρτ.?

„ **Can. 51.** *what shall that Presbyter do (neabed kashisho ho)*: Gk. τίς ἔσται ὁ πρεσβύτερος.

25. **Can. 53.** *as he will*: Gk. ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ.

„ **Can. 54.** *of a Deacon (m'shamshono)*: Gk. ὑπηρέτου, which Balsamon understands to mean a sub-deacon or reader: but may it not mean that he must not be admitted to the higher order of the priesthood?

„ **Can. 56.** *be baptized*: Gk. φωτισθῇ.

„ **Can. 57.** *Country Presbyters (kashisho d'choro)*: Gk. ἐπιχώριοι.

„ *ibid.* *the Body or the Cup to others*: the Gk. has ἄρτον διδόναι ἐν εὐχῇ, κ.τ.λ., which Johnson understands of “the Consecrated Elements reserved to be used as there should be occasion,” and then to be administered “with Prayer;” and

PAGE

- this the Country Priests are allowed to do in the absence of the Bishop or of City Priests.
30. **Can. 62.** The Greek of this Canon is to the same purport, but a little less full.
- „ **Can. 64.** Gk. Εἴ τις παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἰδίᾳ (al. κατ' ἰδίαν) ἐκκλησιάζοι, κ.τ.λ.
- „ **Can. 67.** *keeps himself holy* (*methkadash*): a technical expression: Gk. ἐγκρατεύοιτο. Compare 1 Cor. 7. 34.
32. **Can. 77.** *religious*: Gk. ἀσκουμένων, ascetics.
- „ *ibid. from thought, &c.*: this might perhaps be translated, *from the thought of the perfect opinion that dwells in himself*, i.e. thinking that his own opinion on the question is perfect. The Gk. is ἀποκυροῦντος ἐν αὐτῷ οἰκείου λογισμοῦ (al. τελείου λογισμοῦ).
- „ **Can. 78.** *or their oblations*: Gk. τὰς μνήμας αὐτῶν, their memorials.
35. **Can. 79.** *holy Canon*: compare the meaning of this term in Can. 16 and 17.
36. **Can. 80.** *communicating with, &c.*: The Greek is τοῖς ἀκοινωνήτοις κοινωνεῖν, and the phrases are similar in Canons 79 and 82, the dative being without a preposition. The Syriac preposition is *to* in all these cases, and I should translate *give the communion to*, but that the preceding words would then imply that Sub-deacons, Readers, or Singers, might haply take part in administering the Communion, which is unheard of. I suppose, then, the term refers

- to all, clergy and laity alike, and signifies *communicate with*. Compare Can. 8.
36. Can. 80. *bound*: Gk. ἀκοινώνητον.
37. Can. 86. *but only Bishops to their neighbours*: the sense is a little obscure. The Greek is Μηδὲ πρεσβυτέρους τοὺς ἐν ταῖς χώραις κανονικὰς ἐπιστολὰς διδόναι, ἢ πρὸς μόνους τοὺς γείτονας ἐπισκόπους ἐπιστολὰς ἐκπέμπειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀνεπιλήπτους χωρεπισκόπους διδόναι εἰρημικάς. Isidore Mercator translates thus: Neque presbyter ad regiones longinquas formatas (i.e. canonicas) epistolas dare, et nisi ad finitimos episcopos simplices epistolas mittere præsumat. Vicariis vero episcopi, qui a Græcis chorepiscopi vocantur, formatas facere liceat.
38. Can. 87. *the ancient Canon of the Fathers*: no doubt Can. Apost. 33. Ed. Bruns.
- „ Can. 88. *make Sub-deacons . . . make Presbyters . . . be made by the Bishop*: the same Syriac word in all these cases. In the Greek the words are καθιστᾶν, χειροτονεῖν, and γίνεσθαι, respectively.
39. Can. 89. *of the order of the Clergy*: Gk. τοῦ κανόνος. This Canon is said to have been made with the object of deposing Athanasius, which was done accordingly. Soc. Eccl. Hist. ii. 8; Soz. iii. 5.
40. Can. 91. *not even if there be with him*: Gk. μηδὲ εἰ συνεπάγοιτο, if he bring with him.
- „ *ibid. and thus he may proceed to the Cheirotomy*:

PAGE

the Greek gives a different sense ; ὧν εἰς τὴν χώραν παρέχοιτο : Dionysius Exig. translates as the Syriac does : Isidore and Hervetus as the Greek has it.

41. **Can. 95.** *for the Episcopate* : lit. *of the Episcopate* (not, of the *Bishop*) ; the preposition evidently denoting the purpose, a use of it frequently met with in this phrase. Cf. Can. 2, 88, 168.

This and the preceding Canon were recited at the Synod of Chalcedon under the numbers 96 and 95 respectively, in the examination of the dispute between Bassianus and Stephen, both of whom claimed the throne of Ephesus, and were both ejected by the Synod.

- „ **Can. 96.** *the Synod of the Province* : Gk. the full (lit. perfect) Synod of the Province, as in the two Canons preceding.

42. **Can. 97.** *No one who, &c.* : Gk. (more briefly) Ἐπίσκοπον μὴ χειροτονεῖσθαι, κ.τ.λ. Zonaras thinks that here *Cheirotonia* signifies the election. But the Syriac phrase, which is of such frequent occurrence, indicates the *placing* of the hand, not *stretching it out* as for voting. Perhaps it may include both the election and the consecration. In the latter part of the Canon the same phrase is used for κατάστασιν, χειροτονίαν, and κατάστασις, respectively.

- „ **Can. 98.** *will be held* : lit. *will be* : the Gk. is ἐπιτελεῖσθαι. Dionysius Exig. has *conveniat synodus* ; Isidore Mercator *perfici possit*.

PAGE

43. **Can. 98.** *the fifteenth of the First Tishri:* The Gk. has ἰδοὺς Ὀκτωβρίαις, ἥτις ἐστὶ δεκάτη Ὑπερβερεταίου—a mistake of δεκάτη for πεντεκαίδεκάτη, as Beveridge points out.
44. **Can. 102.** *And further let it be known, &c.:* Gk. And let the property of the Church be manifest, *with the knowledge of the Priests and Deacons about him, so that they may know and not be ignorant what things belong to the Church,* so that nothing be hidden from them; in order that, &c. The clauses in italics are wanting in our MS., the writer's eye having been probably caught by the second of two nearly similar clauses, when he ought to have continued from the first. The omitted clauses are found in MS. 14529, and in all the Latin versions.
45. **Can. 103.** *shall be punished (nethel dino):* Gk. εὐθύνας παρέχειν, render accounts; but εὐθυναί also means punishment.
- „ *ibid. concerning the sustenance:* Gk. λόγῳ.
46. **Can. 106.** *recently baptized:* Gk. πρόσφατον φωτισθέντας.
- „ **Can. 107, 108.** The order of these Canons is inverted in the Greek. But Dionysius read them as they are placed here.
47. **Can. 110.** *whether from the Hearers:* omitted in Greek; but Dionysius Exiguus (whom I frequently find very close to the Syriac version) has *sive baptizati sint illi, seu catechumeni.*

PAGE

For *baptized* the Gk. has πιστούς in both places.

48. Can. 111. *by the Bishop or by the Priests*: Gk. by the Bishops and Priests of the Church.

„ Can. 115. *the right teaching of conversation*: Gk. τῇ τοῦ εὐθέος λόγου πολιτείᾳ. Dionysius Ex. has *rectæ conversationis exemplo*.

49. Can. 120. *all Graduals*: MS. 14526 has *mazmurtho*, Psalms, or Canticles. The Gk. has καθ' ἕκαστον ψαλμόν.

„ Can. 122. *apart from the rest*: lit. *from it and for it*; a curious expression. Gk. ἰδίᾳ.

„ *ibid. the Peace shall be given*. This interesting Canon is illustrated by the Clementine Liturgy found in the Apost. Constitutions VIII. 5, &c. The Deacon was to proclaim the Peace: then the Clergy were to kiss the Bishop; and, of the Laity, the men the men, and the women the women; the Deacons keeping order, that there might be no disturbance, and that no one should nod, or whisper, or wink. It should be remembered that the women were always in a part of the church separate from the men.

„ *ibid. from the Altar*: Gk. καὶ μόνοις ἐξὼν εἶναι τοῖς ἱερατικοῖς εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ κοινωνεῖν.

50. Can. 124. *the Dominical Vessels*: Gk. δεσποτικῶν σκευῶν; *Dominica Vasa*, Dionysius Exig.

„ Can. 127. *in the Priesthood, Presb. and Dea.*: Gk. ἱερατικοὺς ἀπὸ πρεσβυτέρου ἕως διακόνου.

PAGE

50. **Can. 128.** *to bless or to give the Bread or the Cup*: ἄρτον διδόναι, οὐδὲ ποτήριον εὐλογεῖν.
51. **Can. 132.** In the Apost. Const. II. 36, instruction is given as to the observance of the ten Commandments:—"Sabbatise for His sake Who ceased to create, but ceased not to provide, a sabbatising of meditation of the law, not an idleness of the hands." And in ch. 47 a direction is given to hold courts on the second day of the week, so that if any demur were made to the decision, they might have freedom *up to the Sabbath* to settle the quarrel, and to pacify those who were at variance for *the Lord's day*. In the Council of Friuli (*Conc. Forojuliense*) A.D. 796, the Lord's day is called the Sabbath, but it is carefully distinguished from the Jews' Sabbath, quod est ultimum (*sic*) in hebdomada.
- Can. 13. Labbé, IX. 48.
- „ **Can. 137.** *and were Heretics when they testified*: Gk. ἡ αὐτοὺς πρὸς τοὺς προειρημένους αἵρετικούς γενομενούς, which Johnson suspects to be a gloss that has crept into the text; but (with Beveridge) he omits πρὸς.
52. **Can. 139.** *Mages or Wizards*: the Gk. adds ἡ μαθηματικούς ἡ ἀστρολόγους, but these are not mentioned either here, or by Dionysius Exig., or by Isidore.
53. **Can. 148.** *receive Baptism*: Here I suppose *Baptism* is used for the whole process, in-

PAGE

cluding the preparatory instruction. He might not join the class of Catechumens after the 2nd week in Lent.

53. **Can. 150.** *such a gift : cujus muneris*, Dionysius Exiguus : Gk. *θείας δωρεάς*, with which MS. 14526 agrees. The 38th Canon of the Council of Eliberis (*Elvira*, A.D. 306) permits a layman (*fidelem*) who himself had received valid baptism, and was not a bigamist, to baptize a sick Catechumen : but if he survived, he was to be brought to the Bishop for imposition of hands.

„ **Can. 154.** The clause in smaller type has been omitted in the original MS., but has been subsequently scribbled in. This omission, and that on fol. 71. vso, seem to me to indicate that the writer was making a transcript from a rough copy of the translation which he, or another, had made. Almost every page of this MS. has 19 lines, and this is the number on this page, without reckoning the line subsequently added.

54. *ibid.* *either on the Sabbath or on the First Day of the week* : Fasting on these days (the Great Sabbath excepted) was strictly forbidden : Ap. Can. 65. Ed. Bruns. Trullan Synod, 55.

„ **Can. 156.** *engage in a ballet* : Gk. *βαλλίζειν*. This word is said to denote a noisy dance, accompanied with clapping of hands, &c., and apt to be sometimes inconsistent with modesty.

PAGE

55. **Can. 162.** *private*: Gk. ἰδιωτικούς. The same Syriac word occurs as an adverb in Canons 12 and 113, there meaning *unconcernedly*. There is no list of the Canonical Books in our MS.
- „ *Rubric. the 429th year of the Antiochians*: The month *Ab* was the Fruit month, answering to parts of July and August. Hence $429 + 4664 + 1 = 5094$ of the Julian Period, i.e. A.D. 381. See note on p. 2.
- „ **Can. 163.** *nor the Canons*: this is not found in the Gk. or in the Latin versions.
- „ *firm and undissolved*: the Gk. has κυρίαν only. Dion. Ex. *firmam et stabilem*.
- „ *Nothingians*: or *Lo-medemians*, as asserting that the Son was made of nothing (*lo-medem*). See Nicene Symbol. The Gk. has *Eunomians* or *Anomoians*, but editions differ.
- „ **Can. 164.** *or Archbishops*: wanting in the Gk.
56. **Can. 165.** *those two Tomes*: the Gk. speaks of only one. Dionysius and Isidore have nothing beyond the decree concerning Maximus.
58. **Can. 166.** *I call those heretics*: Gk. αἱρετικούς δὲ λέγομεν. We are told by Platina that Pope Damasus (who lived at this time, but was not even represented at this Synod) was accused by two deacons of adultery, but that, having defended himself in a public Council, he was acquitted, and his accusers condemned and excommunicated. Upon which a law was

PAGE

made That if any man should bear false witness against another, he was to undergo the same punishment that the accused should have suffered if he had been found guilty.

The origin of this Canon, and of that clause about the Tome of the Westerns, is uncertain. The Greek text comes to us from Balsamon, Patriarch of Antioch (d. A.D. 1204). The ancient Latin versions do not contain them. As to that which is called Canon VII., the Greek text of which also comes from Balsamon, see foot-note p. 71.

60. **Can. 168.** *the Laying on of Hands*: Gk. χειροτονίαν.
 „ *fills an office (or rank) of the Church*: Gk. τινὰ τοῦ κανόνος.
 „ *thrust out from his degree*: Gk. κινδυνεύτω περὶ τὸν βαθμόν.
61. **Can. 169.** *the Holy Synod*. This MS. appears to have fallen into the hands of someone who was bitterly hostile to Pope Leo, and to the Synod of Chalcedon: *Holy* is almost erased. There are many similar erasures in the MS. Cf. foot-notes, pp. 70, 73.
62. **Can. 170.** *be not blasphemed*: the Gk. adds, But the Bishop of the city ought to take proper care of the monasteries: and so Dionys. Exiguus and Isidore, in their versions.
64. **Can. 176.** *shall not be capable (lit. empowered)*:

PAGE

- in Gk. it is simply μηδὲν . . . ἐπικοινωνεῖν πράγμασιν.
65. **Can. 179.** *Readers.* Gk. ἀναγνώστας. But the Cod. Vat. has ἀγνώστας, and the Cod. Sfor. has ἀγνώστους, foreign and *unknown* clerks. Dionysius Exig. has *Peregrinos clericos et lectores.*
66. **Can. 183.** *in every Province (Heparchia):* the Gk. has *in every Church*; but Justellus places ἐπαρχίαν in the margin, and Beveridge puts it in the text.
67. *ibid. held and administered them:* the Gk. adds the word ἀβιάστῳς, which is implied in what follows.
- „ *ibid. before the Patriarch:* Gk. *before the Exarch* (al. *Eparch*) *of the Diocese*; as in Can. 175, where Balsamon explains *Exarch* as meaning the Patriarch, and says that a *Diocese* is that which contains many Provinces, each of which had its own Metropolitan.
- „ *ibid. affairs of the Church:* Gk. of the ecclesiastical *parishes* (παροικιῶν).
68. **Can. 186.** *must remain in:* Gk. στέρνειν, *contentos esse*, Dionysius.
- „ **Can. 188.** *fall from:* Gk. κινδυνεύειν.
70. **Can. 193.** *fall from:* Gk. ἐκπίπτειν.
- „ *Rub. They are complete:* There are no more Canons in this collection; but the 28th Canon of Chalcedon in the Greek copies, and the proceedings connected with it, form the main

PAGE

subject of Leo's letters to Anatolius and to the Emperor, which follow the Definition in this MS. [fol. 138—150].

70. *as representing their Bishops.* Of these proxies I count ten Presbyters, six Deacons, one Sub-deacon, and one Reader, whose names are given. Some Bishops and Chorepiscopi voted as proxies for absent Bishops. The MS. says that all who were assembled were 329, "and 33 who by the hand of others lifted up the hand" [fol. 132].

71. If by Archbishop John, who spoke divinely, St. Chrysostom is referred to, the date of this letter must be subsequent to A.D. 407. The Sabbathians do not seem to have been known as a sect until almost the close of the 4th century.

APPENDIX B.

[REFERRING TO LEO'S LETTERS, see pp. 78 and 86.]



HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE QUESTION REFERRED TO.

THE Bosphorus, as it begins to open into the Propontis, passes between Byzantium and Chalcedon. The former of these ancient cities had been selected by Constantine with admirable judgment as the site of his new capital; and on the occasion of its dedication (A.D. 330 or 334) an edict, engraved on a marble column, bestowed upon it the title of NEW ROME (Gibbon, Dec. and Fall, ch. 17). "The Emperor," says Sozomen, "created another senate, which he endowed with the same honours and privileges as that of Rome, and he sought to render the city which bore his name equal in every respect to that of Rome in Italy." (Bk. II. c. 3.)

Some fifty years afterwards this newly-built city, *Constantinople*, or *New Rome*, was selected as the rendezvous of the Second Œcumenical Council, and the 2nd Canon of this Council (the 3rd in the Greek copies) gave the second place of honour to its Bishop, "because it is New Rome."

This soon became a sore grievance to the Bishops of Rome: indeed Baronius says that a Council held

at Rome in the very next year dealt with this matter ; but the words he quotes are found in a Council 112 years later. However this may be, the subject was resumed at the Council of Chalcedon, and of what was done there in this matter we proceed to give an epitome :—

Flavian, Archbishop of Constantinople, and Domnus, Archbishop of Antioch, having been deposed at the *Latrocinium* of Ephesus, A.D. 449, Anatolius, a Deacon (who had been Apocrisiarius for Dioscorus at Constantinople), and Maximus were elected to the vacant thrones (Baronius, Labbé IV. 766); being consecrated apparently (as they had been elected) by Dioscorus and his coadjutors. Nevertheless, as they had professed the Catholic Faith, they were generally recognised, and sat in the Council of Chalcedon, which met in October, A.D. 451.

The composition of this Council is remarkable. An apprehension seems to have been entertained that scenes of violence, such as those which had disgraced the *Latrocinium* of Ephesus, might be renewed, unless the Synod were overawed by the Civil Power, which was accordingly represented by a deputation consisting of seven “most glorious Judges” and eleven members of “the most glorious and most ample Senate.” The Synod met in the Great Church of the Martyr Euphemia : in the midst were placed the Holy Gospels : the Judges and Archons had a place of great honour assigned to them in front of the Altar, and took a very leading part in the Council all through. It should be observed, however, that

though laymen, these Judges and Senators were all in full communion with the Church, and that they acted rather as moderators than as assessors of the Bishops. They did indeed suggest a very important amendment of the proposed Definition of the Faith (L. & C. IV. 1451), which amendment was adopted in the addition of the terms *inconfuse, immutabiliter, inseparabiliter*; and, at the request of the Bishops, they formed part of the Committee to which the recension of the Definition was entrusted before its final adoption by the Council (L. & C. IV. 1451); but they themselves acknowledged that the Decree had been made *by the holy Fathers, in their presence*.

But to return to the subject now before us. These Archons, as we have seen, sat in the midst before the Altar rails: the left was occupied by the three (or four) Representatives of Archbishop Leo, Anatolius, Bishop of Constantinople, Maximus of Antioch, Thalassius of Cæsarea (Cap.), Stephen of Ephesus, &c.; the right by Dioscorus (until he was ejected) and some others; and the body of the Church by the remaining Bishops, who numbered, it is said, 630 in all. (See L. & C. IV. 1938.)

The 27 Canons are referred to the 15th Action, held on the last day of October. Next day (the Kalends of November), the Synod being assembled as before, Paschasinus and Lucentius requested the Judge's permission to make a statement. They replied, Say what ye will. Yesterday, said they, after your highness left, and our humility followed, some things were done which we deem contrary to the

Canons. We desire you therefore to command the proceedings to be read. The Judges thereupon gave the order desired. Aetius, the Archdeacon of Constantinople, then observed that it was customary, after the chief business of the Synod had been transacted, to get other necessary matters arranged. We had, he said, some matters connected with the Church of Constantinople to be attended to, *and we asked the Lord Bishops from Rome to take part in what was to be done. But they declined, saying they had no such instructions.* We referred to your magnificence, and ye bade the Synod look into the matter. As ye were going, the Bishops here rose and desired the Action to be held. Nothing was done in secret: all was done in Canonical order.

The Judges then ordered the minutes to be read, and Aetius gave the schedule to Beronicianus, Secretary of the Consistory, who read it. It was the document which forms what is known as the 28th Canon of the Council, referring to, and confirming, the privilege conferred on the Church of Constantinople by the 2nd Œcumenical Synod. "For the Fathers," says the Schedule, "rightly gave precedence to the Throne of the elder Rome, because it was the imperial city; and moved by the same consideration, the 150 Bishops most beloved of God gave equal precedence to the most holy Throne of New Rome, reasonably judging that the city honoured with Empire and Senate, and enjoying equal precedence with the older Imperial Rome, should be magnified, like her, in ecclesiastical matters also, being second after

her ; and that the Metropolitans alone of the Pontic, Asian, and Thracian dioceses, also the Bishops of the aforesaid dioceses which are among the barbarians, should be ordained by the aforesaid most holy Throne of the most holy Church of Constantinople, &c. This was subscribed by 184 Bishops, exclusive of many absentees, for whom others signed as proxies for them.

Lucentius suggested that these Bishops had been compelled to subscribe ; whereupon they called out, "No one was compelled." After some further sparring, the Judges ordered each party to bring forward the Canons. Whereupon Paschasinus adduced the 6th Canon of the 318 Fathers, reciting it thus: "The Church of Rome hath always held the Primacy. Wherefore," &c. Constantine, a Secretary of the divine Consistory, read the same Canon from a Codex given him by Aetius the Archdeacon: "Let the ancient customs prevail," &c. ; and "from the same Book," the first, second, and third Canons of the "2nd Synod."

Then the most Glorious Judges desired *the Asian and Pontic Bishops* who had subscribed to say whether they had done so voluntarily, or through any pressure. "Before God," said Diogenes of Cyzicus, "I subscribed voluntarily ;" and similar answers, some by acclamation, and some at considerable length, were given by the others.

Upon these facts the most Glorious Judges then gave their decision that the Primacy and chief honour was, according to the Canons, preserved to the Arch-

bishop of the Elder Rome, but that the Archbishop of Imperial Constantinople, New Rome, should enjoy "the same precedency," and, out of his authority, should have power to ordain the Metropolitans of the Asian, Pontic, and Thracian dioceses, after election "by the Clergy of each Metropolis, and by the holders of property, and the most illustrious men, as well as by all or most of the Bishops of the Province," &c. This, they say in conclusion, we have looked into: let the holy and Œcumenical Synod be pleased to shew what it thinks good. The Bishops cried out, This is a just sentence; this we all say: we all agree, let it hold good; and the like.

Lucentius said, "The Apostolic See ought not to be humiliated in our presence: wherefore we pray your Eminence to order the annulling of what was done yesterday against the Canons, when we were absent; but if not, our contradiction must lie against these minutes; but we must know what we ought to report to the Apostolic Man the Pope of the Universal Church, so that he may be able to give sentence concerning the injury done to his See, or the overthrow of the Canons.

John of Sebastia said, We all remain in the opinion of your Eminence. The most illustrious Judges said, The whole Synod has approved that we have spoken.

And so the Synod terminated. But the Western Empire was hasting to its decay, and the claims of the Roman Pontiff rose upon its ruins.

INDEX.

Figures by themselves indicate the Canon referred to : if preceded by p. they indicate either the page of the MS., or the page of this book.

- Abstainers*, from flesh food, 33, 60
Accusations of Clergy, caution regarding, 166, 187
Acroata, a lower class of Hearers, 14, 107
Adulterous Clerks, 45. Laity, 39, 52
Agapæ, 69, 130, 131
Age for Ordination, 55, 181
Alexander, era of, p. 2, note
Alms for the poor, 66, 103
Alms-houses, 174
Amulets, forbidden, 139
Angels, worship of, 138
Annulment of Orders, 6, 9, 10, 16, 100, 101, 165, 172, &c.
Antiochus, era of, p. 2, note
Apolinarists, Baptism by, accepted, p. 71. Can. 163
Apostolic throne, a technical title in Leo's letter, pp. 82 and 90.
Appeals, 5, 84, 90, 92, 98, 166, 183. When disallowed, 93. Appeals to the Emperor or Civil Courts forbidden, 89, 90, 166
Archbishops first mentioned, 164
Archdeacon, Chal. subscr., p. 125 vso of MS.
Arians, Baptism by, accepted, p. 71
Baptism, preparation for, 148, 149. In sickness, 58, 150. Cleanses, p. 4, Can. 31. Affects the person baptized alone, 50. Clinical, a bar to Ordination, 56. Rebaptism of converts from certain heretics, 19, 111, and p. 71
Bars to Ordination, 1, 52, 56. To Ministry, 52, 54
Bathing with Women forbidden, 133
Bestiality, 35, 36
Birthdays of Martyrs, 154. B. D. feasts prohibited during the Fast, 155
Bishops, how elected and ordained, 4, 97, 101, 115. Functions of, 87. Not to exercise their special office in certain cases, 6, 8. May not invade another Diocese, 91, 100, 164. Not to be two in one city, 8. If vacant, not to seize a throne, 37, 94. May not refuse the church assigned to them, 95. How if refused by the people, 37, 96. May not migrate to another city, 15, 99. Nor receive migrating Clergy, 186. Should attend Provincial Synods, 143. Had authority over Church property, 102, 103. See also *Chorepiscopi*, *Accusations*.

Bishopricks to be filled up in 3 months, 191

Body-sin bars a Priest from offering, 53. Or a Deacon from any ministration, 54. See *Soul-sin*.

Bread and wine, after Consecration, called the Oblation, 13, 18, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 35. The Body of Christ, 18. The Body and the Blood, 22

Brothers, marriage with two forbidden, 46

Canonical Books, 162

Canonical Letters, 86, 144

Catechumens, the advanced class of Hearers, 14, 149

Cathari, their tenets, 8. Their Baptism recognised, 8, and p. 71. And their Orders too, 8

Catholic, signifies the true Church, pp. 3, 4. Can. 8, 19

Celibacy of the Clergy, 29, 45, 62, 180

Chalcedon, Definition of, p. 73

Changeable, the Arian term, p. 3, note

Charms, 139

Cheirotony, meaning of. Title of Can. 2. Can. 91, 107, 165, 168

Chorepiscopi, 8, 32, 37, 57. Powers limited, 88, 100

Chrism, after Baptism, 151. In reception of heretics, 110, p. 71

Churches, why honoured, p. 33

Circuitmen, 160

Civil power, called in, 83. Appeals to, forbidden, 89, 90, 166, 175

Clergy or *Clerks*, term included Sub-deacons, Readers, &c., 3, 16, 89, 123, 127. May not migrate, 15, 16, 81, 171, 186. If ejected may not minister, 82. Not to hold lay employments, 169, 173. Not enrolled in two Churches, 170. Lower Orders ordained by a Chorepiscopus, 88. And may not marry, 180. Idle clerks, 189. Adulterous wives of clerks, 39.

Commendation, letters of, 177, 179

Communion in the prayers only, penitential, 11, 12, 13, 24, &c. Voluntary, 80. The *Viaticum* for the dying, 13

Complainants, how to proceed, 98, 175, and 166, 187

Confirmation: the term does not occur. See *Chrism*.

Conspiracies forbidden, 184

Constantinople, its place of honour, 164, 175, 183, and pp. 110—115

Country Priests, 57, 160

Courts, civil, forbidden to clergy, 89, 90, 166

Creed of Nicæa, p. 2. Can. 149, 150. Of Constantinople, p. 3. No other Creed or Teaching permitted, p. 77

Cure of souls, by the Bishop, 102

Custom, reckoned as of some authority, 18

Cyril's letters to Nestorius and the Easterns, p. 76

Dancing, 156, 157

Day, the Great, i.e. Easter, 25

Deacons, their functions, 18, 22, 122. Are the Bishop's

- attendants, 18. And below the Presbyters, 123. Have not power to offer, 18. May not give the Body of Christ to Presbyters, 18. But may communicate the laity, 22. Their declaration as to marriage, 29. Should be seven in number. 58. Frequently voted in Synod as proxies for their Bishops, MS. pp. 121, 122, 122 vso, 126 vso, &c. May not migrate, 15, 16, &c.
- Deaconesses*, age for admission, 181. Received laying on of hands, 19, 181
- Definition* at Chalcedon, p. 73
- Demoniacs*, 36
- Digamists*, 38, 51, 104
- Diocese*, note on Can. 183, p. 108
- Dismissal* of Hearers and Penitents, 122
- Dissenters*, how admitted to the Church. See *Heretics*.
- Districts*, ecclesiastical. See *Metropolitans*.
- Dress*, justifying, 70, and p. 27
- Easter*, time of keeping, 79. Called the Great Day, 25
- Ecdicos*, 168, 189
- Emperor*, called the Synod of Nicæa, MS. p. 14 vso. And the Synod of Constantinople, pp. 55, 81; of Chal. p. 73. Applied to to confirm Decisions of Synod of Constantinople, MS. p. 101 vso. Appeals to in Church matters forbidden, 89, 90, 166
- Ephesus*, Synod of. No Canons in this MS.
- Eucharist*. See *Oblation*.
- Eudoxians*, 163
- Eulogies*, 117, 135, 140
- Eunomians*, their Baptism invalid, p. 71. Can. 163
- Eustathians*, their tenets, p. 26
- Excommunicated* persons, not to be received elsewhere, 5, 80, 84. See *Appeal*.
- Exorcists*, 127, 129
- Faith*, the, i.e. the Creed, 149, 150, and Def. of Chalcedon
- Faithful*, the, i.e. Communicants, 112
- Fast*, of the, 40. Not to be broken, 153. On the Lord's Day forbidden, 76. Fast days despised by some, 77. Strict observance excused in infirmity, 77
- Fifth day* of the Great Week, 153
- First day* of the Week, not the Sabbath, 132, 152, 154. How observed, 20, 76, 132, 152, 154, p. 28
- Flesh*, refusal to eat, 33, 60
- Fruits*, offered for the Clergy, 65. For the Poor, 66
- Hair*, women's, a token of subjection, 75
- Hands*, laying on of, for the Episcopate, 2, 8, 168. For the Priesthood, 1, 2, 168, and *passim*. For other orders of the Clerus, 168, and *passim*. For Deaconesses, 19, 181. Conveys a gift, 168, 181. Thought to remit sins other than carnal, 53. In dismissal of Hearers, &c., 122. Cancelled or annulled, 9, 10, 16, 100, 165, &c. Futile if by heretics such as Paul, 19 Or if

- irregular, 165, 172. Not saleable, 168
- Head* of Bishops, used of Bp. of Rome, p. of MS. 138, of bk. 78. Of Bp. of Constantinople, *ibid.*
- Hearers*, 11, 12. Two classes of, 14. Kneelers, 49. Dismissal of, 122
- Heathen*, feasting and worship with, forbidden, 142. If by compulsion against consent, 23. Some heretics so classed, p. 72
- Heresies*, notable, 19, 111, 163, p. 71
- Heretics*, not to be admitted into Churches, 109. We must not pray with them, 136. Nor attend their meetings, 112, 137. Nor intermarry with them, 113, 134, 180. Who are reckoned heretics, 166. How admitted into the Church, 19, 110, 111, p. 29, 71. Heretical baptism, 19, 111, 180, p. 71
- Homicide*, if involuntary, 42
- Hospitals*, 74, 176
- Houses*, the Oblation not to be offered in, 161
- Hymns*, 162
- Incantations* forbidden, 43, 139
- Indulgences*, i.e. Penances shortened, 5, 12, 22, 24, 105, &c.
- Inhibited* persons not to be received elsewhere, 84
- Insubordinate* clergy, 81, 82, 83, 176
- Jerusalem*, Bishop of, 6
- Jews*, Benedictions from, forbidden, 140, 141
- Journeys* of Clerks, 144, 145. Of poor persons, 177
- Kiss of Peace*, 122
- Kneelers*, 49. See *Hearers*
- Kneeling* forbidden on Sunday and Eastertide, 20
- Lent*, 5, 152—155
- Leo's* letter to Flavian approved, p. 76. His letter to Anatolius, p. 78. To Marcian, p. 87
- Letters* of Peace, 85, 86, 177. Canonical, 86, 144. Syntactic, 177, 179
- Liturgy*, order observed in, 122
- Lord's Day*, distinguished from the Sabbath, 132, 152, 154
- Lord's Supper* (term never used). See *Communion*, *Oblation*.
- Macedonians*, their Baptism acknowledged, p. 71
- Marriage*, abhorred by Eustathians, 59, 67, 72, p. 28. Forbidden in the Fast, 155. Not with two brothers, 46. Second marriage disapproved, 38, 51, 104. Many marriages, 47. Deceit in, 193. Wedding feasts, 156, 157. See *Celibacy*. *Heretics*.
- Martyries*, to be under the Bishop, 174
- Martyrs*, commemoration of, 78. Restricted in Lent, 154: Heretical, 137
- Mass* (term exclusively Western), see *Communion*, *Oblation*.
- Metropolitans*, 6. Have charge of all the Province, 87. Not

- appointed by the Emperor, 178
- Metropolitan Districts*, coextensive with Provinces, 178. Were to follow the civil arrangement, 183. Formed by ecclesiastical, not civil, authority, 178. Recognised by the Emperor, p. 135 of MS.
- Migrations* of clergy forbidden, 15, 81, 99, 171, 176, 186
- Mimers*, 157
- Monasteries* and *Monks*, regulations for, 170, 174, 182, 189, 190
- Montanists*, their Baptism invalid, III, p. 72
- Murderers*, 40, 41
- Mutilation*, 1
- Nestorius*, pp. 75, 76
- New Rome*, 164, and Ap. B.
- Nicæa*, date of Synod, p. 2. Creed of, p. 2. Can. 149, 150
- Ninth hour*, prayers, 121
- Novatians*, 8, and p. 71
- Novelties*, p. 28
- Oblation* (Syriac *Korbano*), offering of the, 5, 18, 21, 53, 57, 62, p. 28, &c., throughout. Not to be offered in Lent, except on the Sabbaths and the Sundays, 152. Not in Houses, 161 (cf. p. 28). Deacons may not offer, 18
- Of*=in order to confer, 1, 88, 95, 168, &c.
- Oppression* by the Bishop, 5. By the Metropolitan, 183
- Orders* Holy, may be valid in schism, 8; but not in heretical schism, 19, III. Much probation before admission to, 2. Can be annulled, 6, 9, 10, 16, 172. Seven orders, besides that of Bp., mentioned, 127. Title required for, 172
- Ordination* not close on Baptism, 2, 106. Might Episcopate be conferred *per saltum*, but for this (or other) bar? 2. Age for, 55. Null if irregular, 91, 97, 100, 165, 172. Conveys a gift, 168, 181. May not be sold or bought, 168. Conferred by Laying on of Hands, see *Hands*. Sin remitted in, 53. Bars to, 1, 52, 56
- Paramonarios*, 168
- Paschal* controversy settled at Nicæa, 79
- Patriarch*, 183
- Patrofilians*, or Sabellians, p. 72
- Paul* of Samosata, Bapt. and orders rejected, 19
- Peace*, the, 122. See *Letters*.
- Penances*, 11, 12, 24—28, 35, 39—44, 46. See *Indulgence*.
- Pentecost*=Eastertide, 20, 98
- People* not to choose who shall be ordained, 116
- Photinians*, their Baptism, 110
- Phrygians* or *Montanists*, III, p. 72
- Polygamists*, 47
- Poor*, offerings for, 66, 103. Refections for, 69, 130, 131
- Pragmatic Form*, 178 and p. of MS., 134, &c.
- Prayer Houses*, built only with Bishop's consent, 170
- Prescriptive right*, by undisturbed possession, 183
- Presbyters* (*Kashisho*), or *Priests* (*Chohano*)—the terms being

- equivalent — their Functions to offer the Oblation, 18, 21, 57, &c. And to expound, 21. Married, 45, 62, and p. 28. If adulterers or fornicators, 45. Sat in the Bema, 159. Frequently voted as proxies for their Bishops; Subscriptions of Nicæa, Constantinople, and Chalcedon. Occasionally *perhaps* sat and voted in their own right (this questionable). Constantinople subscr., pp. of MS. 96, 98 vso. Migration forbidden, 15, 16, &c.
- Presbyteresses* did not receive Laying on of Hands, 114
- Priesthood*, how Deacons took part in, 22
- Procedure*, in eccl. suits, 166, 175, 183
- Property* of the Church, 34, 102. Administration of, 103, 192
- Quartodecimans*, p. 71
- Rank* of Chief Bishoprics, 6, 7, 164
- Rape*, 193
- Readers*, 118, 126. Represented Bishops at Synods of Const. and Chalcedon, pp. of MS. 100, 121 vso
- Religion*, not to be a pretext for neglect of duty, 61, 72—74
- Rome*, jurisdiction of, 6, 87, 164
- Sabbath*, observance of, forbidden, 132. Readings on, 119. Distinct from Sunday, 132, 152, 154
- Sabbathians*, p. 71
- Sabellians*, p. 72
- Schismatics*, attending their meetings forbidden, 64, 79, 80, 83. Prayer with them forbidden, 136. See 166.
- Scriptures*, the Divine, p. 33, 119, 120
- Secular* power, called in to enforce obedience, 83. Appeal to forbidden, 89, 90, 166.
- Sec.* employments forb. to clergy, 169
- Simony* forbidden, 168
- Singers*, 118, 126
- Slaves*, 61, 170
- Sodomy*, 36
- Soothsaying*, forbidden, 43
- Soul-sin*, 2
- Station*, clerks in, 19, 118
- Strangers*, not to be received without Letters, 85. *St.* clergy, 179
- Steward* of a Church, 168, 191, 192
- Sub-deacons*, 123—125, 128, 146. Proxy for Bp. in Synod, p. of MS. 122
- Sunday*, see *First day*.
- Synod*, Provincial, 5, 98, 185. A Great Synod, 90, 166. A Full Synod, 94, 95. An Ecumenical Syn., 166, 176
- Systatic Letters*, 177, 179
- Taverns*, forbidden to clergy, 127
- Theotocos*, pp. 75, 77
- Titles* for Holy Orders, 172
- Tradition*, Apostolic, p. 33
- Usury*, forbidden to clergy, 17, 108
- Vagrant* clerks and Monks censured, 189

Vetos in certain cases of accusation, 166, 183

Vegetarians, 33, 60

Viaticum for the dying, 13

Virgin, the B. V. M. called Theotocos, pp. 75, 77

Virginity, pride in censured, 67, 68, with meekness, commended, p. 32. Dedicated

Virgins may not marry, 38, 182

Witchcraft forbidden, 43, 139

Women, in men's garments, or shaven, censured. 71, 75.

Not to approach the Altar, 147. Forbidden to dwell with clergy, with exceptions,

3



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